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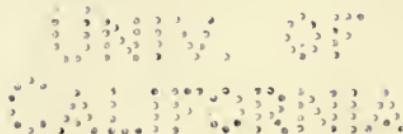
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THE HANDBOOK SERIES

Socialism

Compiled by

E. C. ROBBINS



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EXPLANATORY NOTE

The purpose of this book is to give the reader a general knowledge of Socialism. Discussions bearing on technical phases of the question, that form a large part of the Socialistic writings of the day, have been purposely omitted. The volume is one that the busy reader can pick up at odd moments without having to hold in mind from day to day a laborious chain of reasoning. The discussions are popular rather than technical and, in so far as possible, are non-partisan.

To facilitate an easy reading, the leading schools of Socialism are treated separately. Thus the Utopians and the Christians, although having some common beliefs, are each given a section. The followers of Karl Marx, the acknowledged orthodox Socialists, and the disciples of Edward Bernstein, the avowed revisionists, are treated separately.

One feature of the book which will commend itself to the general reader is the extensive bibliography. Nearly two hundred references to some of the best Socialistic writings, both affirmative and negative, have been gathered together, and, in order that the reader will lose no time when using these references, they have been divided into five groups corresponding to the five general divisions into which the book itself is separated. In a word the whole arrangement of the book is admirably suited to the reader who wishes to gain a general knowledge of Socialism, while the extensive reference lists permit the person with time and inclination to carry on extended researches.

E. C. R.

September 1, 1915.

CONTENTS

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books and Pamphlets.....	ix
Magazines	
Utopian Socialism.....	x
Christian Socialism.....	xi
Marxian Socialism.....	xii
Progressive Socialism.....	xiii
Socialism versus other Forms of Radicalism.....	xv
Definitions of Contemporary Socialism.....	xvii

ROBBINS, E. C. INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT.....	I
--	---

UTOPIAN SOCIALISM

Merriam, Alexander R. Some Literary Utopias.....	.
.....Hartford Seminary Record	5
“Simple Life” in the South Seas.....Outlook	27
Remarks on Mr. Owen’s Plan.....Blackwood’s Magazine	29 ✓

CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM

Ludlow, J. M. Christian Socialist Movement of the Middle of the Century.....Atlantic Monthly	37
Abbott, Lyman. Christianity versus Socialism.....	.
.....North American Review	51 ✓
Spahr, C. B. New Socialism.....Nation	57

MARXIAN SOCIALISM

Marx, Karl, and Engels, Frederick. Communist Manifesto	63 ✓
Spargo, John. Influence of Karl Marx on Contemporary Socialism.....American Journal of Sociology	80 ✓
Scott, Temple. Savior of the Working-Man.....Forum	97 ✓
Socialism and Labor.....Nation	102 ✓

PROGRESSIVE SOCIALISM

Kleene, G. A. Bernstein Versus “Old-School” MarxismAnnals of the American Academy	107
--	-----

Whitaker, Herman. Natural Selection, Competition, and Socialism	Arena	129
Value of Brains in the Socialist State...Review of Reviews		143
Miller, Charles R. Why Socialism Is Impracticable.....		
.....	Century	145
Socialist Rule of Milwaukee.....	Independent	155
Berger, Victor L. What Is the Matter with Milwaukee?		
.....	Independent	157
Debs, E. V. Social Democratic Party.....	Independent	162
SOCIALISM VERSUS OTHER FORMS OF RADICALISM		
Levine, Louis. Syndicalism.....	North American Review	169
Owen, William C. Anarchy versus Socialism.....		180
Spargo, John. Private Property and Personal Liberty in the Socialist State.....	North American Review	202
DEFINITIONS OF CONTEMPORARY SOCIALISM		
Martin, John. Attempt to Define Socialism.....		
.....	American Economic Association Bulletin	215

BIBLIOGRAPHY

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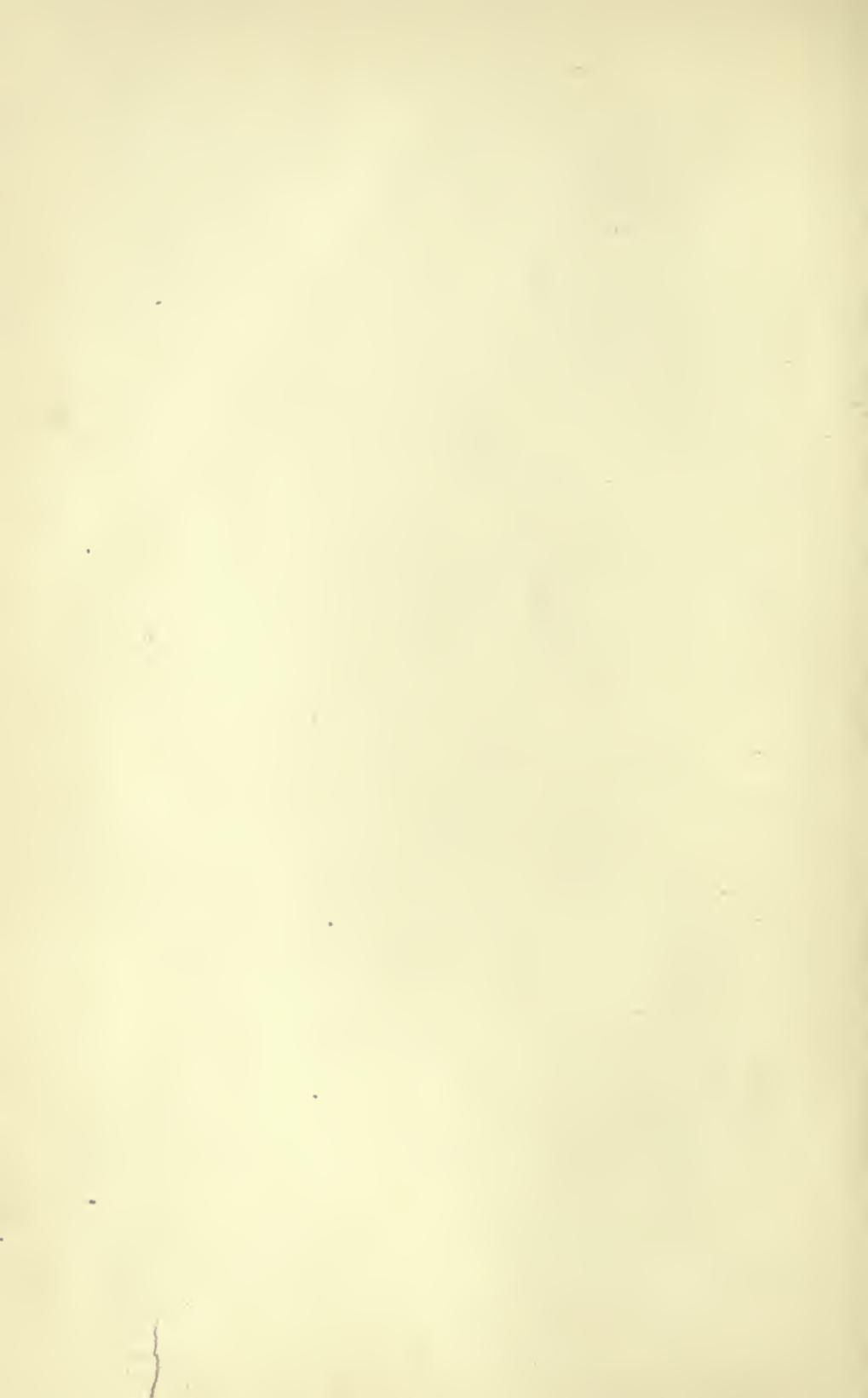
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DEFINITIONS OF CONTEMPORARY SOCIALISM

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SELECTED ARTICLES ON SOCIALISM

INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT

Prof. William Howard Taft has said that one of the most important questions of the day is a consideration of the theories which underlie the present organization of industrial society. Prof. Jacob Hollander, in a recent book, suggested the possibility of eliminating human poverty through a reorganization of our economic institutions. Prof. Richard T. Ely, in another volume, traces the movement away from what has been considered by many to be the "established order," and Prof. F. W. Taussig thinks that private property is on trial for its life.

These and many similar statements that could be quoted from men equally prominent in politics and economics, reflect clearly that American thinkers are aware of the great social unrest of the times. They illustrate more than that. They show that in the minds of a not inconsiderable part of the people, the institution of private property must justify its existence. The day has passed when those who advocate radical changes in the form of industrial organization are looked upon as merely the impotent and indolent—a class which, unwilling to earn its own living, tries to devise schemes for usurping the wealth of others. During the last fifty years, especially, great numbers of men and women of unquestioned integrity and ability have thrown themselves into the ranks of those who believe in profoundly altering present conditions. Various groups have been formed, all working for social betterment, but each with its own particular program. Among these the Socialists, because of their numbers and enthusiasm, easily hold first place.

Few people agree exactly as to what is meant by the term Socialism. It has stood for many different things at different time and places; it has even meant different things at the same

SELECTED ARTICLES ON SOCIALISM

time and place. To some, Socialism is a vague, indefinite movement. Indeed, it is often defined simply as a protest against the existing order—anything new or different from that to which men are accustomed. To others, Socialism is a specific for a given social ill. The western coal miner, for example, thinks of it as a transfer from private to public ownership of coal mines. By such a change he thinks he sees himself emancipated from his present thralldom. The government, as his task-master, will be lenient. His hours of labor will be shortened, his pay increased, and his working conditions immensely improved. In fact, much of the misunderstanding and back-biting so noticeable in socialistic writings, pro and con, are due to the fact that different writers are talking of different things under the general name of Socialism. In the present volume no attempt is made to have the word mean the same thing at all times. The very diversity of interpretations given to the term is one of the things which is intended to be emphasized.

Although Socialism is difficult to define, and may mean anything from regulating the health of an over-worked glass-blower to placing all the instruments of production and distribution in the hands of a central government, yet to make no attempt to group the writings on the subject would be as disastrous as to organize them too minutely. The classification used in this volume is not original. Types of Socialism that have been almost universally recognized are given under the following headings: Utopian, Christian, Marxian, and Progressive. This classification, it should be repeated, is not inclusive, and if any reader is disappointed because his particular kind of Socialism is omitted, the compiler pleads lack of space.

The readings selected are "popular" rather than technical. For instance, the Marxian theory of value is stated, but no attempt is made to include writings to prove or disprove the correctness of the theory, except in so far as the situation is debated among the Socialists themselves. Discussions of that kind must necessarily be left to more exhaustive works. If the reader, however, is interested in pursuing in detail any given topic, he will find numerous additional references in the bibliography.

As far as possible, the readings have been made expository rather than argumentative. This purpose has not been entirely accomplished, for the simple reason that by far the largest num-

ber of writings, especially those giving desired information, are argumentative in nature. Such articles have been used only to bring out particular points. In short, the aim of the volume is to present a general, popular view of the socialistic movement. Shorn entirely of its partisanship, Socialism might still be interesting, but it would not be Socialism.

In order to facilitate the ready understanding of the divisions used in the book, the following summary is added:

The term utopian is used to refer to those people, who at various times, have conceived of creating an idealistic form of government here on earth. For the most part these earthly millenniums have been the idealized expression of some existing type of organization. Thus Plato, in his "Republic," idealized the Greek city-state of his day. Sir Thomas More, in his "Utopia," worked out with faultless precision a government based upon a form already in existence. Bellamy, in his "Looking Backwards," attempted the same thing for the present age. In general the utopians can be divided into two classes: Those who have been content to set forth their ideals in great literary masterpieces, such as More's "Utopia," Plato's "Republic," and Campanella's "City of the Sun"; and those who have tried by actual experiment to establish an ideal system of government, such as the colonies organized by Robert Owen, William Morris, and many others.

Christian Socialism, as the name implies, is founded upon the teachings of Christ. It is an attempt to apply Christianity to social and economic problems. While the Christian Socialists have never been large numerically yet they have had enrolled in their ranks persons of international repute.

Probably the majority of people, who have read about Socialism, instinctively associate it with Karl Marx. This is not unnatural, for he stamped his name indelibly upon the movement. Both during his life and since his death his followers, some of whom seem almost more enthusiastic over his doctrines than he himself, have carried his ideas to greater length than warranted by facts. This attempt to apply Marx's theories to times and conditions for which they are manifestly unfitted, and for which Marx probably never intended them, has brought the movement into severe criticism in recent years; but even at their worst, the principles enunciated by Marx, such as economic interpretation of history, class struggle, revolutionary evolution,

and labor theory of value, are still the mainspring of the socialistic propaganda.

Viewed in the light of progress, however, the theories formulated by Marx have been attacked, even by those who believe in the socialistic movement as a whole. For example, many Socialists today prefer to substitute the doctrine of peaceful evolution for the revolutionary theory advanced by Marx. To meet the claims of these newer advocates, a section on Socialism in relation to progress and evolution has been added. In it are found the views of some of the most modern Socialists.

Also, because there is much confusion in the popular mind between Socialism and other radical movements, articles have been added to show wherein the former fundamentally different from such doctrines as anarchism, syndicalism, single tax, etc. Lastly, after all explanations and comparisons have been made, a series of definitions on contemporary Socialism is presented. The reader is at liberty to choose his own, but in so doing it is well to bear in mind that there will probably be no uniformity among people as a whole regarding any given definition.

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UTOPIAN SOCIALISM

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Some Literary Utopias. Alexander R. Merriam

The field of our study in this paper has been comparatively neglected in the recent emphasis of social problems. Yet it suggests one of the oldest and most persistent themes in literature. Our discussion deals chiefly in the strictly literary and romantic books in this category—but it cannot be confined entirely to them; for there are books which have no fictional form which yet are, after all, politico-social speculations rather than treatises, ideals governmental and social, which had no actual embodiment in the author's day.

It requires only a casual glance at history or among ourselves today to recognize the idealizing social tendency, "in the past a golden age, in the future a golden dawn"; "in some other place": Utopia, New Atlantis, City of the Sun; "at some other time":—year 2000; "if this were so," "if that were not." Here, in this form of government, in that political economy, is the panacea for ill; there, in that one social wrong, or in one human vice, is the block to all progress; if removed—then Utopia.

Now this is a tendency of mind which is capable of ranging all the way from the grand ideals of the loftiest minds, like Plato, to the shallow utterances of some political charlatan; or from the most inspired hope to the most pessimistic grumble. It is a human tendency which often lies at the very springs of slow progress and reform; and yet many a political revolution in blood has sprung from utopian philosophical ideals, very much in the same way as many triumphs of modern mechanics have been made possible from long and seemingly profitless studies in abstract mathematics, or as some of the most concrete results in science are the consequents of hypothesis and experiment. The father of modern biology was the poet Goethe. Now, this large fact must be recognized in all fairness, and though applicable in only a partial sense to some of the particular books we shall consider, it yet furnishes a serious background for some

of these lighter touches of the literary utopist. In a sense, all the larger ideals of men have been utopian when regarded from any one point of time, or one range of experience. The Hebrew theocracy in all its large ideals, and in all smaller details, spiritual and economic, was never fully and satisfactorily actualized; and it still floated like a banner over the minds of our own Puritan ancestors. The Messianic ideal of the prophets in large outline and in specific detail has divided for thousands of years Jew and Christian as to its fulfilment in Christ. We have no faintest conception of how large an ideal was wrapped up for the Roman and Christian world both, in the word "Roman Empire" and later "Holy Roman Empire," until we consider how persistently that thought of world dominion ruled secular and religious ideals, government and ecclesia, until its last political trace is seen in our own century. No one can read Augustine's "City of God," or Dante's "De Monarchia," without realizing that church and state, ethics and politics, government and social fabric, of which we keep hearing today, are all inextricably blended in the minds of men, utopian as the particular phases of the idea seem to us,—and that far above the actualities of then and now, men keep building better than they know. And so again our growing vision of the kingdom of God, which is beginning to sway men's minds, is apt to seem a new discovery of our day, and already is it concreting itself in the many beatific or vagarious dreams of men, based on partial exegesis—and yet if we look for its literary source it has its roots away back in the O. T. theocracy, is older than the Holy Roman Empire, which yet kept the idea alive through the centuries, and still what Sir Thomas More said 500 years ago is yet measurably true today, that "the greatest parts of Christ's precepts are more opposite to the lives of men of this age than any part of my discourse has been."

And so we must keep in mind these larger ideals of men, which do represent the highest actual past legislation of Moses and Christ, and the loftiest speculations in philosophy about right and justice from Plato down through the ages; we must remember the reality and value of these things in order to distinguish the large general truths and the small parodies of them; the essential and permanent ideals of men and the imaginary travesties of them, so as to be just to some of the great and permanent truths proleptically seized by visionaries. The

difference between an ideal and a Utopia is largely the difference which all history is teaching in God's withheld completion of man's restless programs. A Utopia is a program for an ideal, with other than the *dramatis personae* of the great author of history. The fault and peril of Utopias is oftener with their programs than with their ideals.

Let us now briefly indicate some of these political and social strains, and then take up somewhat more fully the principal ones which have assumed the more distinctly literary form. The earliest utopian conceptions look backward as seen, e.g. in the Brahminic conception of the earliest age, as the best, full of purity, plenty, philanthropy, and praise. Hesiod, 900 B.C., describes in "Work and Days" the reign of Saturn as an age of gold in the past, and Ovid, about the Christian era, takes up the same strain in the "Metamorphoses." Traces of this backward utopian look as an impulse are found even as late as Rousseau's idealizing of primitive conditions in his philosophy of society. Even Plato, after he has constructed his ideal "Republic," with no conception of a backward look, shows in the "Timaeus" how when Socrates expressed the wish to see how such a republic would work, Critias undertakes to tell him by tradition through his ninety-years-old grandfather, whose father was a friend of Solon, who in turn had it from the priests of Neith at Sais: how 9,000 years even before Solon such a state of ideal citizens withstood for a time the attack of Atlantis. But now gone is that vast continent in the deep, and gone the ideal citizens who withstood the shock of such empire.

But the great body of utopian literature has had less to do with *time* than with *place*. The fiction of place otherwhere has been a more dominant note than time otherwhen, either as the vehicle for satire and parody on present society, or as an idealizing of society in another place. Aristotle, the critic of such fancies and the critical annotator of Plato himself, mentions several such fictions.

This literary method is the one generally followed, as we shall see, in the later utopias: Campanella's "City of the Sun," presumably in Ceylon; Bacon's "New Atlantis," possibly corresponding to Australia; "Utopia," under the tropics in South America; Fenelon's "Republique de Salente"; Cabet's "Icaria"; Howell's "Altruria"; not to mention others. Harrington's British "Oceana," Bellamy's "Looking Backward" to Boston, Morris's

"News from Nowhere," whose scene is in London, are the few which dare to set up their Utopias in their native land.

But there may be another classification of utopian literature which we shall follow: one according to which the imaginative element is engaged preeminently, either in the *political* or the *social* realm. That is, the Utopia takes the color either of a political discussion, aiming to set up an ideal government, or its main color comes from depicting the social condition consequent upon some changes, especially in the economic or family life. The element of fiction proper is confined chiefly to the second class. The former class approaches more nearly to the confines of what we may call the publicist function, but differs in having more or less the romantic element, especially the dramatic setting of the literary symposium.

I. In this philosophical or political category we should rightly classify Plato's "Republic," though it has elements of the social Utopia, which are the least prominent, and yet the ones by which it is best known and judged. Leaving it, therefore, for later discussion, next after Plato comes Cicero's "De Republica," usually called "The Commonwealth." It is based on Plato, and yet possesses greater political wisdom, as befitting a Roman. He sets up a state, not in philosophical theory only, as Plato did, but by a severe historical study of Roman institutions. His speculation is a search, in his own language, for a "just distribution" (this is the note of the world's utopian cry), and a "subordination" (not so frequent a demand) of rights, offices and prerogatives, so as to give "sufficient domination to the chiefs, sufficient authority to the senate, and sufficient liberty to the people." It has been pointed out that in this blending of the royal, aristocratic, and popular elements Cicero has almost outlined in prophecy the essential features of the British constitution of our day.

We come out of the publicist realm of Cicero's speculations when we take up Augustine's "De Civitate Dei," which is often spoken of as a philosophical and religious Utopia, why, we cannot see, except for its name; and yet it is interesting as the first great work which dared to break that ideal or idol of the Roman Empire, by placing alongside of it the great Christian ideal of a heavenly city. The decay and fall of Rome before Alaric had shaken the world as we can hardly imagine, and all the fabric of society seemed disintegrated. Even Christians

thought that the destruction of Rome meant the prelude to the end of the world. A widespread attempt was made to attribute this calamity to the Christian religion. Augustine's great book is in part a maintenance of the thesis that the destruction of the Roman Empire is due not to the rise of Christianity, but to the corruption of paganism. The old social system is passing, but in its place he seems to see a new order arising, as over the ruins hovers the splendid vision of the City of God, coming down out of Heaven. And yet his eyes are set, not so much forward in a politico-social speculation (he has no vision as yet of even the Holy Roman Empire) as backward over history as he traces from the first a city of God, a community of God's people, living alongside the kingdoms of this world, and their glory, and as he traces their antagonism from the fall of the angels to the last judgment. The distinctive place of Augustine in social literature is his conception of the spiritual realm, and the slow-moving but triumphant providence of God as developing in, with, alongside of, and despite the great visible world kingdoms of men; a conception quite in accord with sanest Christian ideals of men today, and with the historic method of interpretation.

But it is very interesting (going on to the fourteenth century) to take up a fascinating book which Dean Church has recently translated, Dante's "De Monarchia." It is strictly in its form a governmental treatise, but it has for its theme an idea which, as intimated before, was for centuries the world's utopian dream, and which history has proved to be utopian, the conception of a holy world-wide Roman empire, which should bring universal peace and prosperity. The conflict of Christian centuries, between church and state, emperor and pope, was largely a discussion as between two holies as to relative place. In the awful chaos of his time, political and social, Dante, devout Catholic as he was, dreams again of a revived Roman empire, subordinating the temporal power of the Pope, a universal monarchy with a single authority, unselfish, inflexible, which could make all smaller tyrannies to cease, and enable every man to live in peace and liberty so long as he lived in justice. Such a power was Rome, and such a power shall become Christendom, longs Dante, under a revived Roman empire, despite the discouraging experiences by which he was surrounded. Believing that imperial Roman power divine and eternal, he idealizes a

state which he dreams will yet set up peace and justice in the earth. He elaborately argues the divinity of the old Roman state as religiously as he would that of the Old Testament theocracy. He finds divine potents and miracles and sanctions in secular Roman history, and proves to his own satisfaction that its rehabilitation is necessary to the redemption of the world. The "De Monarchia" of Dante shows how passionately he reverts to an idea which Augustine had done so much to overthrow centuries before. It is interesting not only for itself, and crystallizes better than anything we can read the visions which for ages ruled man's imaginations; but it also explains the passionate political strains which form so deep an undertone in his "Commedia," and which have led many commentators of Dante to consider it a Ghibelline poem, insinuating what it was dangerous to announce, and breathing into our own times patriotic impulses to Pope-ridden Italy.

Still considering the political Utopias, we come down to select one more: the "Oceana" of Harrington, written and published in the troublous times of Charles and Cromwell. James Harrington, of noble family, wide learning, extensive travel, and a courtier of Charles I., after the king's death, without actively espousing the cause of Cromwell, was yet inclined to the idea of a commonwealth. He wrote his book, which was an earnest effort to induce Cromwell to introduce certain radical reforms. The book was seized by Cromwell, but subsequently restored, and dedicated to the lord protector. On the restoration, Harrington was imprisoned and was released only after he had become shattered in mind and body. The "Oceana" belongs in the class with Hobbe's "Leviathan" and the writings of Filmer and Locke, but it is distinguished by its literary form and its fiction of an actual program to set up his Utopia. "Oceana" is England, "Marpesia," Scotland, and "Panopaea," Ireland. He has fictitious names for London, St. James, and the kings of England. Cromwell is the Lord Archon, and is named "Olphaeus Megaletor." A great council under the Archon's auspices is called, committees are appointed to consider every government from Israel to Venice, and orations and public disputations issue out of this wide survey, in a reconstruction of England's commonwealth. His great idea is that the troubles of his time and all time are due to change in the balance of property. "Empire follows the balance of property" is a phrase

of his which has become somewhat notable. He shows his commonwealth in action with the most elaborate safeguards and calculations of property adjustment, to prevent shifting of that balance. This he does by agrarian laws, by limiting the power of accumulation to a certain income, and by regulating inheritances. He sets up in imagination a popular government in which offices are filled by men chosen by ballot, to hold office for a limited period. The idea of a ballot for popular municipal and parliamentary elections does not seem utopian to us, though it is only within fifty years that the written or printed ballot has been used in English parliamentary elections—a custom old as Rome in limited usage, and often adopted in modern times for other purposes.

It would be going beyond the limited range of our subject to enter into the French and German speculative social literature. The political elements in them, utopian in their democracy then, have now been quite fully established. Economically, they are socialistic in varied ranges from communism to anarchy, from philanthropies to cooperative commonwealths. The imaginative literary element, however, does not generally prevail, except in some of Rousseau's writings, in Mably's poem, "The Basiliade," and in Cabet's "Icaria." Fourier's politico-social ideas, though not taking a distinctively literary form, yet suggested in his philanthropies a concrete program of social organization which did much to stimulate communistic societies in Europe and America. The famous Brook Farm experiment, though originally from an indigenous impulse, was dominated in its later development by the teaching of Fourier.

II. Let us pass on to the second class of Utopias, those which deal more closely with social programs, and have the more distinctly literary form. By far the largest class of utopian literature has taken the form of imaginary social commonwealths with some fiction of actual adventure to give them currency. The reasons for this method may be either its stimulus to the imagination in the absence of scientific and historic data which are now available, or it was resorted to for the sake of protection to the writers in putting forth critical views upon existing society. The most famous books of this class are Plato's "Republic," 300 B.C.; More's "Utopia," 1517; Campanella's "City of the Sun," and Bacon's "New Atlantis," early in the seventeenth century. Besides we may mention "L'Evangel

Eternal," by Abbé Joachim, early in the thirteenth century—a utopian dream about the reign of the Holy Ghost. Fenelon wrote two Utopias: "Bétigue"—an Arcadian dream of a pastoral people without vices—and "Republique de Salente," a picture of a people with no industry but agriculture, attaining a high degree of perfection and happiness. In it war is depicted as the source of all misery—a bold position in the age of Louis XIV. There is a political romance by John Barclay (early in the seventeenth century), entitled "Argenis," very famous in its day, and greatly admired among others by Disraeli and Coleridge, and widely translated. Then there is in more modern times the story of the poet Morris, "News from Nowhere," Howell's "Altruria," and Bellamy's "Looking Backward" and "Equality," not to mention others. Most of them deal positively in the construction of an ideal social state, with implications everywhere of criticism on existing institutions.

We might also include in this list imaginative works which use the opposite and offensive method of elongating the vices and foibles of present society in an unideal world: such method of parody as Swift uses in "Gulliver's Travels." Another book of the same order, but little known, is Joseph Hall's (1607) "Mundus Alter et Idem," a pseudo-ideal world discovered by a traveler, and divided into regions answering to man's chief weaknesses and vices. He gives a map of Crapulia, Latronia, Moronia, etc.—and with an irony which seems a very critique of Utopias, he outlines on the edge of his map a *terra sancta ignota adhuc*. There is also a class of writings like Montesquieu's "Lettres Persannes," in which, in gentle irony, it is shown how a stranger from Persia or India would regard manners and morals in England or France. This is Howell's method in his "Traveller from Altruria."

The notes in this literary method in the past seem little varied and tame oftentimes to the fiction-surfeited mind of our day. The most frequent literary form is that of the symposium, strictly speaking, as in Plato's "Republic," Cicero's "Commonwealth," Harrington's "Oceana." In garden or grove or house, or on the tribune, friends meet and declaim or talk. The literary quality to be maintained in these symposia is simply the consistency in type of the talkers. The central figure, Plato's Socrates, Cicero's Scipio, Harrington's Lord Archon, furnish the main arguments, and the others are his foils. The strength

of such a book depends upon the fairness and force of the arguments the author puts into the mouth of his objectors. Plato and More dare to have their critics say something strong; Julian West, in the latest product of Mr. Bellamy, gapes and swallows as Gospel everything Dr. Leete says. Even when this symposium method does not occupy the whole literary field, it is still retained in part as the setting of the dream or experience. Look at the literary setting of some of the Utopias. Sir Thomas More, writing in 1515, soon after Columbus and Vespucci, so that men's minds were stirred by discovery and adventure, tells us how he was on ambassadorial business for Henry VIII in Flanders, when he met one day a certain Peter Giles, an honorable man of learning. As they were returning from church, on a time, he saw his friend talking with a stranger, who proved to be one Raphael Hythlodaeus, a Portuguese scholar and adventurer, who was so anxious to see the world that he had divided his estate among his brothers, and had gone on three voyages with Vespucci. On the last voyage he begged to be left behind, and setting out with five Castellians inland he saw some wonderful states and peoples—especially one Utopia. Struck by his knowledge and acuteness, More and Giles expressed astonishment that he did not enter, after such valuable experiences, upon the service of some European state. This opened the way for a discussion of the poverty and crime, the wasteful wars and social condition generally of Europe—and the consequent story of Utopia was told by way of contrast.

The same literary method is used by Campanella about a century later. Campanella was a Dominican monk born in Calabria, who suffered for his ardor in the cause of science. He was a contemporary of Lord Bacon and shared his philosophy and method. His scientific and philosophical publications were coincident with an Italian conspiracy in Calabria to throw off the Spanish yoke. He was seized and sent to Naples as a political suspect. He was imprisoned twenty-seven years, during which time he wrote his "City of the Sun." It is a dialogue between a grandmaster of the Hospital Knights and a Genoese sea captain, who had seen and describes the city he had discovered. This book is interesting and curious. It is a vast scheme idealizing a state built on a hierarchy of learning. Metaphysic ("Hof") is its personified prince, and Power ("Pon"), Wisdom ("Sin"), and Love ("Mor") are a triumvirate of counselors.

These coincide with his ideas of the Trinity. Power, Wisdom, and Love, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. He describes a city whose seven concentric walls are pictured with object lessons in learning. Its pantheistic cultus is a dream which might pre-figure Comte's "Religion of Humanity." The worth of the book does not warrant a detailed discussion. Campanella tries to combine some of Plato's philosophy and social ideas with the scientific elements more fully developed in Bacon's "New Atlantis," to which we now turn.

Lord Bacon's "New Atlantis" is a simple narrative of a ship's company which sailed from Peru for China. Encountering storms, provisions exhausted, at last they discovered an island or continent in the then unknown Southern Sea. They entered a harbor and beheld a fair city. They were met by officials gorgeously apparelled, who bade them depart, by a proclamation written in Greek and Hebrew and Latin and Spanish. The document was sealed with a cross. Discovering by this sign that the sailors were Christians too, they were allowed to land. They were taken to the Strangers' House, so-called, and superbly entertained. Soon the governor called, offered further hospitalities, and answered their questions about the state. It seems that about twenty years after the death of Christ a wonderful light was seen at sea, a pillar of fire surmounted by a resplendent cross. Upon approaching the wonder, it exploded with a great coruscation, and nothing was left but a small ark, which opened of itself, and disclosed the Old and New Testaments, with a letter from St. Bartholomew saying that he had been instructed by an angel to cast this ark into the sea for the salvation of some unknown realm. The narrative goes on, in conversations and in walks about the city, to disclose its history and wonders in government and science. Commerce is forbidden to the people with any state not under their own crown but through the fiction of a sacred order called "Solomon's House," and under its auspices, every twelve years two ships with three Solomonian brethren in each are sent out to different realms to gather knowledge of affairs, especially of science, arts, manufactures, and inventions. These he beautifully calls "Merchants of Light." The results of these discoveries are seen in the wonderful museums and laboratories he describes, and in the social effects upon this land of Barsalem, of this scientific learning. The book, in other words, is a

scientific speculation by the great author of the "Novum Organon"—a sort of bold anticipation of the wonders of modern science, which Bellamy finds so helpful in his Utopia full of quaint conceits, and letting the imagination revel in the possibilities of his inductive method. He can have towers three miles high, and caverns three miles deep. He has artificial wells and water of Paradise. He has a wonderful biological laboratory for experiments on plants and animals. He can raise plants by mixture of earth without seeds; can continue life, even if some vital parts are gone. He can magnify and diminish bodies. He has furnaces which can imitate not only the sun's heat, but that of the stars. He can make artificial rainbows, and says "we have some perpetual motions." In fact, the book is a veritable Baron Munchausen of science. And yet in it all he has prognostications of many things which modern biology and chemistry and mechanics have actually achieved. He anticipates the discovery of meat extracts. He prefigures the microscope. A crude compound microscope was invented in Holland a few years before. He may have known of it, but we have no data to verify the supposition. He suggests something like the audophone and telephone, submarine boats are faintly in his imagination, and "some degrees of flying in the air," as he modestly puts it; and there is something like a weather bureau in full blast. It is interesting to note that the scientific "New Atlantis" is one of the most ostensibly religious books in utopian literature.

Leaving the literary setting of these books, let us now go back to consider and condense as far as possible the more notable political and social positions of the two most famous Utopias, those of Plato and More.

Plato may be regarded as the pioneer in this class of writing—*influencing more or less directly nearly every subsequent utopist*. His search in the "Republic" is for ideal justice, outlined by the words of Socrates in the symposium, but confronted by the conservatism of the aged Cephalus, by Thrasymachus, a type of the sophist, by Polemarchus, the practical man of social traditions, by Glaucon, the impetuous youth and man of pleasure, and by Adeimantus, the representative of common sense. Through the labyrinth of the Socratic method in such a dialogue it is hard to get at his meaning. It seems to have been based upon the Greek idea of individual insubordina-

tion to the state, and yet equally pronounced is the more modern idea that you must have an ideal man to make an ideal state. All that he says about the state is commingled with a discussion of similar qualities and regulations in the commonwealth of a man's own soul. He looks upon reason, courage, and temperance as the chief desiderata in a man, corresponding to his mind, his feelings, and his will. Their balance make the ideal man. The state should, therefore, have three classes corresponding: the rulers or guardians (the reason), the soldiers with preponderance of courage, the workingmen artificers and farmers, whose virtue is temperance, though he does not develop this idea. It seems hard to discover in his argument, which he makes the starting point or norm for the other: the state or the individual but this is clear, that the subordination of all to the public good is vital and yet that each acquires justice for himself, and contributes it to the state by each doing his own business well, and submitting to what the general good requires. This certainly is not very utopian, and is quite modern, and as far as I have read is not much dwelt upon by commentators of Plato. But the theme which is most elaborately discussed in the "Republic" is this: that it is not so much the happiness of the citizens as the well-being of the state that is to be sought—quite in contrast with modern materialistic Utopias in which individual happiness and comfort is the chief ingredient.

Then Plato goes on to discuss the education best fitted to make these classes do best their own business. It is a curious thing to modern ideas that he leaves out entirely, in his discussion, the third great class, the people, with whom modern Utopias are chiefly concerned, and confines all he says to the education of the guardians and soldiers; and it is not at all clear whether what he says is even meant for both, but only for one of these upper classes. Nothing gives a clearer idea than this neglect of the common people in his Utopia of the difference between a Greek and a modern democracy. His educational scheme includes, first for all, up to the age of twenty, music (in which he apparently includes religion and literature), and gymnastics. It is interesting that it is the intellectual and moral regimen of gymnastics that he has chiefly in mind. After the age of twenty begins a more serious education of the soul, designed chiefly for the more promising youth,

including a more comprehensive study of the arts and sciences. At thirty, still further selected spirits are chosen from them, who go out into practical life to command armies, and gain experience of affairs. At fifty they can return to a further life of philosophy, or take their places among the rulers and trainers of others. A third step of training is hinted at in Plato's famous argument for immortality in the eternal development of the soul as suggested by the vision of Er, near the close of the "Republic." This argument is made in connection with a remark that indicates his view that his scheme was almost impracticable on earth, and needed the longer period of eternity to develop it. It is curious to note that the education he prescribes for his selected guardians is primarily geometry—also astronomy and dialectics as subsidiary to a search for the good. Plato does not propose for his future legislators any study of finance or law or military tactics. Nothing appears more incongruous to our modern notions; and yet as a counterpoise to the extreme view of "practical politics," and the habitual sneer at the "literary fellows," Plato's ideal has had its uses, and is beginning to be recognized in its appropriate balance in our day. This idea of a large, comprehensive public education for citizen careers is one that runs through the other Utopias; Campanella and Bacon, for example, but with a more democratic inclusiveness.

It is other elements, however, in the training of these guardians which have become most famous. First, there is absolute *equality* of the sexes, identical education and identical careers. No idea could possibly be more un-Greek than this. He anticipates and goes far beyond the most ultra-modern notions: for the women are to bear with men the burdens of war and state. His argument is that the sex difference is not a difference of natures, and that there is more difference between different men and women than between man and woman. Hence natures being the same, education should be the same, and therefore occupations should be the same. He never flinches in this third conclusion, even as to war.

This he can do in his scheme without detriment to the home, for he has no home in his ideal state, for the guardians. A regulated promiscuity and a system of public nursing and education for children which rigorously obliterates identification of children in parentage is part of his scheme. I say regulated

promiscuity—for curiously, from our point of view, Plato sets up his scheme partly to prevent certain abuses of freedom, as he thinks. To avoid this, holy marriage festivals are instituted, and he adds, "their holiness will be in proportion to their usefulness." To this end the guardians see to it that only the good and strong of either sex marry with corresponding qualities, as often as possible, and the bad with the bad less frequently; the children of the good being saved, the other offspring killed. To prevent popular irritation over the differentiation, the brides and grooms at the festival are ostensibly assigned by lot, but really by design—a politic lie which Plato enjoys to consider. The man must be twenty-five to fifty years of age; the woman from twenty to forty. Any one above or below these ages who takes part in the hymeneal festival is guilty of impiety—also any one who forms a marriage relation at other times. After fifty and forty, he allows promiscuity of relationship. His idea in mating his couples is based upon the care we show in breeding cattle: shall we do less for the safety of society, in heredity? he argues. This is his paramount consideration, and every sentiment of love and home goes down before it. Of this scheme Plato says he has no doubt of its expediency, but he has of its possibility. This feature of Plato is to us the most abhorrent of all his ideas; but one thing must be borne in mind, that contrary to the general idea about it, Plato thinks he is aiming not at unbridled lust, but at an almost impossible strictness, and at mechanical regulation—though in face of the suppression of the deepest sentiments.

This is Plato's solvent of the social evil and the bane of heredity; utterly alien in method from Christian love, humanity, and hope. And yet this phase of evil and the taint of depraved heritage, and the overpopulation of the lower orders, are still with us, the Gordian knot of social reform.

It is interesting to see that Mr. Bellamy has accepted essentially Plato's idea of identity of sexes in nature and occupation; and he is going to meet the whole Malthusian argument by woman's increasing physical power through gymnastics to resist male approach, and by her economic independence in public careers.

Another element in the ideal republic much dwelt upon, but yet very slightly emphasized by Plato, is community of goods and absence of money. "The diviner metal is within

them, and they have therefore no need of that earthly dross," he says. When you come to look for this provision in the end of the third book of the "Republic," you find about a page only given to it; and the communism of property, of which so much has been said, is little more than an abundant but simple common provision for the rulers and soldiery—a sort of wage given by the citizens in general, so that the rulers could perform governmental functions without distraction of fear or favor.

This economic communism, in some form, and the bane of money and individual property, is the one persistent idea in nearly all Utopias—Sir Thomas More is the great exponent of it—and it is the note of all modern nationalism and collectivism; but the *ground* for it utterly shifted since Plato's day. Now it is advanced entirely in the supposed interest of the poor; it is presented as an economic factor of social justice. But with Plato it was an entirely different matter; it was in the interest, as he supposed, of disinterested patriotism and undisturbed devotion to the state on the part of his upper classes—very much the argument for the monastic life of the clergy later on. This idea of sharing of possessions, for the justice of it, to the poor is not in Plato's mind at all, nor is this the great reason with Sir Thomas More; but it is the good of the state. And Plato's argument for community of goods as well as of wives (within certain limits) for the guardian classes, and only for them, is simply this, that without care for personal property, and for one's own children, they might escape thereby the distractions of avarice or of family caste, and the sweet family affections which would otherwise share their interest in civic justice, courage, and impartiality: an utter mistake, we may say; yet socially there is some ground for it. Plato's communism is nothing like modern socialism.

It remains only to say that Plato does not say how or when he is going to set up his state, except in two passages. First, he says in answer to *when*: "Not until kings are philosophers or philosophers kings." And again when asked how, if his guardians have set up their scheme, they would go to work on existing institutions, he says he would begin by sending out of the city into the country all over ten years of age, and begin his education on those that were left. I should like to see the twinkle in Plato's eye if he could read some modern literature on this point.

Despite these utopian elements—and no one knew that they were so, better than Plato himself, as could be abundantly shown—despite some ideas and ideals utterly revolting to Christian principles, Plato ideally has held up to the world some views which are modern, and more than modern, if I may so speak. His ideal of a lifelong education, extended to both sexes, based on their equality, his blending of philosophy and ethics with politics, his insistence on a right individual to make a right state, his search for the good, or, as we should call it, religion, as a basis of political justice, his finding of wealth in weal, a note now often heard since Ruskin—all these and more are the abiding elements in a Utopia, many of whose paradoxes are still ours, and many of whose problems we are yet facing.

The "Utopia" of Sir Thomas More is next in interest and importance to that of Plato's "Republic." It is by far the most charming of all the Utopias from a literary point of view, and, despite some of its suggestions, has permanent social value. It has great modern interest moreover, for it was called out by an economic condition somewhat resembling our own. The breaking up of the feudal system detached men from the soil, and from a dependence of serfdom, which yet gave measurably the necessities of life. Moreover, the change of land tenures, the increase of individual over feudal proprietorships, the inclosing of commons, and the growing preponderance of manufacture over agriculture resulted in widespread change of employment, turning much tilled land into pasturage, and so dispensing with many laborers. These facts, in that period, resulted in a social upheaval and displacement quite resembling the industrial revolution in our day, coming from machinery and from modern competitive capitalism. Like the later movement, it was doubtless a step in progress, but resulted incidentally in great hardship for individuals, threw hosts of men into the field, and resulted in a great era of crime. The state was not ready then, with modern charities and reformatory methods to meet it; the English poor laws were not yet in force, and the day of repression by capital punishment for nearly all offenses was in full vigor.

The "Utopia" was written primarily to show the enormity of the English criminal law, and its inexpediency, and to disclose in parable the economic injustice and folly of punishing ruth-

lessly enforced idleness and crime by death, when economic conditions and policy fostered both. On the side of the governments, Sir Thomas More saw the economic burdens of war and the corruptions of courts, and on the side of social life he saw the greed of wealth, the display of luxury, and the shallow standard of happiness. His solvent for these things was: abolish private property and banish money from its social function. Inequality of condition, and personal greed and luxury, which are traceable to the search for individual wealth: this is at the bottom of social wrongs and the impediment to social happiness. So he teaches, and we hear this sentiment re-echoed again and again today. In other words, he saw 500 years ago much that we see today; but what is equally important, he saw many abuses which we do *not* see today—so mightily has God's providence wrought changes. Modern penology and jurisprudence have done just what he clamored for. Modern philanthropy and charity methods have met much of his economic arraignment of society, and yet for him then, with such clear vision of wrong, there was but one way of expressing himself: by an opposite picture of a different communistic state, confessedly Utopian—for it can be abundantly shown from the book that he was no visionary and crank, demanding immediate realization. That ideal state was meant to be partly parody, partly satire, but partly longing hope for a better world. The play of half-belief, half-doubt which runs through the book is its chief literary charm, and while this detracts from the polemic value of the "Utopia" as a serious book, it increased its efficacy as a safe social example for popular effect. Now, what I wish especially to note is that the fundamental economic positions and solvents that Sir Thomas More put forth so long ago are essentially the arraignments and solvents of modern socialism today; and yet that most of the actual economic wrongs of his day, as he saw them, have been practically met by history since, in prosaic fact, in non-utopian forms. Many of Sir Thomas More's charges against society are still the charges made today by many modern writers, and the economic evils of them are made to reappear now under changed conditions. Much of the first part of the "Utopia," in which More discusses the social economics of Henry VIII's day, reads like some magazine article of yesterday. Though history in the slow but sure process of time has met most of Sir Thomas More's concrete

demands, without his Utopia, still today the demand of some men is for something as revolutionary as that scheme of his. Either the reading of his book, in connection with present discussions, confirms us in our high estimate of the value of social agitation and ideals, while yet we hold on to the patience of God's providence, or it emphasizes anew the perennial demand by some in nearly every generation from Plato down for some sort of communistic reconstruction of society.

What, now, is Sir Thomas More's scheme?

He imagines a land about two hundred miles square, with fifty-four cities about twenty-five miles apart, Amaurot the capital. "He who knows one of these towns knows them all," he tells us. That is a motto which might be written over every Utopia—a dreary monotony is their own arraignment. "Their buildings are good and are so uniform that a whole side of a street looks like one house," he says—a description very much like Campanella's. Extensive gardens lie back of all the houses. There being no property among them, every man may freely enter into any house whatsoever. Every ten years they shift their houses by lot. The families are made up of those nearly related to each other. He has no platonic disregard of the home. The sons, married and unmarried, with children and grandchildren, live in the same home or group of homes—a trace of early family communities. They live in a sort of patriarchal obedience to their common family chief, reminding us of the type of home described in Crawford's Italian novels.

Lest any city should become either too great or by accident be dispeopled, provision is made that none of their cities may contain above 6,000 families, besides the country homes contiguous. Here is modern congestion of cities solved on paper! Provision is made for transplanting families from city to city, if the prescribed number is exceeded, and for colonizing into other lands if population is excessive, gaining land peaceably if possible; if not, by war; for one of More's principles is that "every man has by the law of nature a right to such waste portion of the earth as is necessary for sustenance."

No family may have less than ten, nor more than sixteen persons in it—but as there can be no determined number of children under age, he says, the rule is still observed by transplanting the surplus from one home to another. Here, indeed,

is your Murray Hill and Cherry Street problem, and the Malthusian peril easily solved in Utopia!

Their social structure is built on the family. Thirty families choose a magistrate who is called a syphogrant, and over every ten syphogrants is another magistrate called a tranibor. All the two hundred syphogrants of a city choose a prince out of a list of four named by the people of the four wards into which every city is divided. The election is by secret ballot (Australian method?), and "if any one," says he, "aspires to any office he is sure not to compass it." Oh! what a Utopia indeed! The prince is for life, unless removed for cause. The tranibors meet every three days with the prince for deliberation, but there are always two syphogrants of the people present, and these are changed every time. No star-chamber in Utopia! He tells us that it is a fundamental rule of their government that "no conclusion can be made in anything that relates to the public, until it has first been debated three days; and another rule observed is never to debate a thing on the same day in which it is first proposed." No hasty legislation in Utopia! Another thing: there are no lawyers in Utopia, says the greatest lawyer of his day. Surely that is Utopian modesty! Upon certain very important matters legislation is referred directly back to the council of the nation. Here is the idea 500 hundred years ago of the referendum, as yet in the air.

All over the country are built farmhouses capable of entertaining forty men and women and two slaves. Every year twenty of this family come back to town and others take their places—so that the experience of city and country both must be known by all—with ultimate permission to permanent residence in the country if so desired. Among the chief industries of the farmers is chicken-raising—and by incubators, too! Oh! modern scientific farmers! Besides agriculture, every man and woman learns some trade. All wear the same clothing excepting some distinction as to sex—and the fashion never changes! This is, perhaps, the *ne plus ultra* of Utopia; yet Mr. Bellamy, too, is quite sure on this point by the year 2000 A.D. The chief and almost the only business of the syphogrants, he tells us, is to take care that no men may live idle: very important, we should say, that they have all possible leisure for so big a task—though the author confidently informs us that there are

not 500 in this land who will not work. Let us go to Utopia with our tramp problem! But in Utopia men do not wear themselves out with perpetual toil, for they give six hours only out of the twenty-four to work. Sir Thomas More goes two hours better than our eight-hour movement. At eight o'clock they all go to bed, and sleep eight hours, and when they waken there are public lectures before daybreak for all who wish. Very many of More's arguments and some of his methods of betterment are found in current discussions today, and Mr. Bellamy has borrowed specifically from his ideas and program. Very much as in Boston in the coming century, according to Mr. Bellamy, More tells us that there is a public market-place in the four wards of Amaurot. Thither are brought all products of earth and factory and put into common stock, and from thence every head of the house gets anything he wants, without pay and without exchange. There is no danger, he assures us, of a man's asking for more than he needs, because there is no inducement, since they are sure of being always supplied. Pride is also eliminated, as well as want in his economics, by the public esteem in which gold and jewels are held; for in Utopia the commonest kitchen and chamber utensils are all of gold and silver, as also the chains for the slaves, and jewels are only used as the playthings of children. They always have public provisions in their magazines for two years ahead. "There are no taverns, no alehouses nor stews among them," he assures us. They travel without money and work at their trade as they go. They keep up the home life, and may eat at home, but generally prefer to take common meals in a hall, each thirty families or syphograntry dining together, entertained by reading and music as they eat, the menial work done by slaves and the tables served by the children.

Sir Thomas More has some curious suggestions as to war—what he says is fine irony on his age. Utopians, he tells us, think nothing so inglorious as the glory gained by war. But as war there must be, men and women alike are trained for it. The only use they have for golden money, which they accumulate for the purpose, is to hire soldiers from other countries to do their fighting for them. Their principle is that as they seek out the best sort of men for their use at home, so they make use of the worst sort of men for the consumption of war, and so they hire mercenary tribes to fight, under utopian generals,

however. To settle a war speedily they use enormous bribes to purchase assassination of the hostile prince, so as quickly to kill the most guilty, and save the carnage of the common soldiery. This is the chief, and only, and, according to them, appropriate use of gold.

The most notable thing in the Utopia, for the age in which the book was written, and in view of Sir Thomas More's staunch Catholicity, is his provision for universal religious toleration of all faiths, and his story of how Christianity in open field made its own way. One of Utopia's oldest laws is that no man ought to be punished for his religion. He also has a wonderful scheme of religious unity, through worship, in a cultus in which all worship together God, and yet each may be worshiping at the same time his own God. His priests are few in number, for few, he says, are highly enough gifted for that office. Ministers are chosen by the people—a bold thing for a man to say before the Reformation. The confessional, says this devoted Roman Catholic, is in the family, to the father of the family, and among themselves.

We thus hear in More's "Utopia" some notes as old as Plato, and many as new as Bellamy. His scheme has many provisions not at all utopian to our democratic ideas, and some ideals which are yet our purest longings in political and social life. His methods are based, however, on the sophistries of communism; and yet, despite these vagaries, his scheme has not the philosophical vagueness of Plato, does not share his views as to the family, and he is not so concretely and confidently sure of his position as Bellamy.

A few suggestions occur from our study.

Utopists as all these writers are, I think we are struck first by the fact that, with the exception of Campanella, Harrington, Bellamy, and a few others, they are nearly all men of eminence in the world's thought. So that amidst fiction and vagary there is doubtless some substantial truth. We have marked in passing some anticipations of subsequent actualities. They seldom have the earnestness and conviction of cranks. Plato and More never give you the impression that they endorse all they make fictional. More's life and public career are opposed to some things he says. The object of his method, like all drama and fiction, is to give latitude, and to escape the consistency of a publicist pamphlet. The great difference between the older and newer

Utopias is just this: neither author nor earlier generation took them seriously, because they were utterly out of line with existing institutions. It is remarkable that, with the exception of Harrington, no utopian suffered, even in eras of persecution, for his social revolutionary views. Campanella wrote his "City of the Sun" while he was in prison, for another offense. Harrington's views were the most seriously his own, and his "Oceana" was England then and there. He suffered for it. But the note of modern socialistic utopianism is its earnestness and its immediateness. The French revolution, we know, was partly the work of French philosophers just before, and Cabet's "Icaria" and Fourier's "Philanthropy" and other schemes besides set men at once to founding communities. Mr. Bellamy's book means business now. His Utopia is all set up by 2000 A.D., all over the world; and his "Equality" tells just how the change was wrought in all details, and how in the very decade in which we live the revolution has already begun. His Utopia is, to his mind, logically an imminent fact of history. Bellamy's book is from this very fact different from any ever written, and its peril is its boldness and immediateness. He seems to really think, and he wishes to lead others to believe, that here and now we are on the eve of setting up his imaginary commonwealth. The utopians of the past should be judged, therefore, not in all respects as the programs of their authors, nor should they be judged by some very crude and absurd features of them, but by the general principles which they have tentatively in mind, and which have been partially realized or utterly rejected in the slow movement of history.

Another thing to remember is that nearly all the past Utopias were originally written not in the vernacular, but for select readers. Moreover, few of them took up distinctively the argument from the standpoint of the people in general, or as a class polemic. This is the entirely different tone we find in French Socialism and in Bellamy's nationalism. It is a socialistic type of democracy which is the keynote of modern utopists. Again, with hardly an exception, every Utopia contains some readjustment of property, or some type of communism. This is as true of Plato and Fenelon as of More and Bellamy. This is the universal language of dreamers; it is a world's dream. However mistaken or impracticable the programs, the testimony of the ages is a longing for a juster economic redistribution.

Again, a very common note, but by no means universal, is some change in the family as it now exists.

Another impression from all the Utopias is the monotony and dreariness we feel as we consider the schemes of utopists. They seem little to conceive how much of the real joy and incentive of life and its deepest motives to character they uproot in gaining some questionable economic and social benefits.

Once more, nearly all of them, while speaking in the name of a republican ideal, unconsciously depict a strong yet hierarchical state, a virtual despotism in practice which looks so paternal on paper.

Another thing impresses us: the growing emphasis upon environment as compared with character. Plato's state was built upon ideal citizens; Bellamy's (with every variation of these notes between) upon ideal environments. There may be truth in both extremes—but Plato's note, in this regard, is higher than the dominant note of our own day.

Another thought is the common ignoring of sin as a social factor. "It was not so in Utopia," says More, say all, and by that easy formula they leap the greatest chasm in all our social problems. This is the root objection to every utopian program ever invented, and the great practical peril of indulging dreams.

But the converse of this is also true: that all utopias, however vague and foolish, however they ignore facts of personal sin and evils of corporate guilt, do yet contribute something, however small, to the world's optimism, and do show an unquenchable hope in a possible humanity.

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The "Simple Life" in the South Seas

A practical experiment in the "simple life" has just come to grief in the South Seas. In 1903 Herr Lutzow, a musical director of one of the Berlin theaters, Herr Engelhardt, a vegetarian and physician of Munich, and Herr Bettman, a philosopher, together with a number of other kindred souls, chiefly authors, musicians, poets, and men of advanced or socialistic ideas, wearied of clothes, houses, three meals per day, and the routine of ordinary life, and determined to leave behind them the effete civilization of Europe and seek in a

remote isle of the southern seas a dwelling-place where the "simple life" is still possible and where they could attend chiefly to the things of the mind and spirit with a minimum amount of trouble and care for the body. They organized a colony of Sun Brothers and set sail for their new Utopia, the place selected being Kobakon, an island situated in German New Guinea in the New Laurenburg group of the Bismarck archipelago, between New Pommern and New Mecklenburg. The island, only 165 acres in extent, seemed to them a new Eden. Cocoanut and mango trees offered choice fruit merely for the picking. The fiber of the cocoanut served them for clothes, the sun supplied heat and the sea coolness, and no bills were ever presented. They could sit in the sun when they wished to be warm, bathe in the sea when they wished to be cool. They could give practically all their time to reading, amusement, and high thought, and live the simple life in perfection. To such an idyllic dream of existence it is sad to have to append a few hard facts. Herr Lutzow and Herr Engelhardt died, probably from lack of proper nourishment or from a too sudden change in the manner of their living; Herr Bettman, the philosopher, was killed by the natives, and the Sun Brothers as a colony have broken up. The survivors are glad to escape from their Eden and return to civilization sadder and wiser men and with greater respect for the institutions which a few years ago they gladly deserted; and Kobakon, the happy isle of the South Seas, is now merely another name for a social experiment that failed. The story is an instructive one, but its lesson, like that of the Brook Farm and similar experiments, will probably go unheeded. The dreamers will still dream, whether in Germany, New York, or New Jersey. And, on the whole, it is well for progress that they should. There is a divine as well as a vulgar discontent, and from the former society as a whole receives its inspiration to progress, even though as respects the dreamers themselves they may at last be compelled to write as an epitaph of their schemes, *Vanitas vanitatum*.

Blackwood's Magazine. 13: 338-42. March, 1823

Remarks on Mr. Owen's Plan

It is a common and well-founded complaint against Mr. Owen and his friends, that it is exceedingly difficult to discover any process of reasoning, by which they can have arrived at their most magnificent conclusions. They seem simply to have imbibed certain first principles, which are either common and unimportant, or new and absurd; but which, at all events, do not appear to the generality of mankind to lead to the establishment of any new system of human nature. But, by contemplating these principles with minds dazzled by the splendor of their own fanciful prospects, they have brought themselves to believe, that, admitting *them*, the truth of all their doctrines becomes self-evident. They therefore think it quite superfluous to reason in support of these doctrines, mistaking, as they are accustomed to do, a ray of enthusiasm for the light of a self-evident truth. Hence it happens, that, to the astonishment of those with whom they converse, or who read their books or pamphlets, they continue repeating, in every variety of form, the same familiar assertions, without ever dreaming that it is also necessary to establish, by tangible arguments, the conclusions which they draw from them.

We speak not now of the *practical* or *economical* part of Mr. Owen's plan, but of his *speculative opinions* alone. In practice, his own good sense is often found to correct the errors of his system. And we wish it to be here understood, that although we should succeed in proving that he contemplates impossibilities, and does not rightly comprehend human nature in theory, we do not imagine that we would therefore be justified in concluding that none of his projects, when regarded by itself, and apart from the man and his opinions, is deserving of the attention or support of those who, free from prejudice of any kind, desire only the happiness of their fellow-creatures. For the present, however, directing our chief attention to his theoretical views, we shall endeavor to state one or two of those plain reasons which seem to forbid any sensible person from at all entering into them, and the influence of which, in old society, it seems absolutely necessary for Mr. Owen to do away, before he can expect the general diffusion of that new light which shines upon his own understanding.

Man, according to Mr. Owen, is entirely the creature of circumstances; and he is a good and a happy being, or a wicked and a miserable, according as those combinations of circumstances, by which he has been surrounded during the formation of his character, have been combinations favorable or unfavorable to its proper and natural development. Hence he deduces the importance of what he calls the *science of circumstances*; which is the science that is to teach us so to *combine and control* circumstances, as to elevate and improve human nature, in a manner quite inconceivable by those who have been accustomed to contemplate it, solely as it has been debased by the selfish vices of old society. This inestimable science he professes to teach us, and has reduced to a system of rules which he promises speedily to put in practice; so that, ere long, without any great revulsion of nature, but by a gradual return to an order of things which she has at first established, but from which men have in their ignorance and folly departed, all selfishness, vice, and misery, shall be completely banished from the world.

Now, in the first place, we may boldly question Mr. Owen's power, or the united power of all mankind, so to control circumstances as to prevent the inroads of vice, misery, and selfishness. To talk of controlling, agreeably to the will of any individual, or set of men, the operation of all those unseen causes which influence the formation of human character, is truly impious. Can Mr. Owen reverse the decrees of fate, and so regulate the *accidents* to which human beings are liable, as to remove from them all temptation to sin, and exempt them from all chance of misery? The *circumstances* of which he is constantly speaking, are, rightly considered, the *destiny of man*.

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"But who can turn the stream of destinee,
Or break the chain of strong necessitee?"

If it is the will of Heaven that a frail mortal shall yield to temptation, and suffer the penalties of guilt, is there any power on earth that will prevent him? But we would simply question Mr. Owen's power to do so, on the ground of moral impossibility. Can he, then, weigh the exact force of unruly nature, so as to be able to apportion, with an unerring hand, the weight of motive which is necessary, in order to determine each individual to a course of conduct uniformly virtuous? Is it not part of his own system, that the conduct of no individual

is under his own immediate control for a moment? Can he expect, then, that the conduct of all the members of a community will ever be completely under the control of another, acting, not immediately, but merely through a set of regulations?

Moralists have ever been in the habit of deplored the frequent ruin of a whole fabric of virtuous principles, through the slow and secret influence of combinations of circumstances, which neither the individual himself, nor those who best knew his character, could have regarded as in the least degree dangerous. How the Saint of Motherwell is to be secured against the operation of causes which it seems impossible to remove without changing earth into heaven at once, Mr. Owen has yet to explain. The glance of a woman's eye is sufficient to make any mere earthly saint overstep that limit, beyond which every farther step leads to utter destruction. It will be strange, indeed, if the influence of unruly passions, which have often subdued the strongest resolutions of men whose fame, honor, and fortune depended upon the characters they had to support in society, and who also believed that their happiness throughout all eternity depended upon their conduct in this life, shall be set at utter defiance by a set of manufacturing agriculturists, educated in the dangerous persuasion, that for no action which they can perform, are they subject either to censure or punishment.¹

But, *secondly*, we maintain that it is necessary to take into account something else than the mere circumstances in which a man has been placed from infancy, before we can securely predicate the specific effect which they will have in forming his character. For, although it may be true that the character of each particular individual is formed by circumstances it is not true that the characters of all men are formed by them alike. Mr. Owen is not, it will be observed, so unreasonable as to deny the existence of original diversities among the minds, as well as the bodies of individuals. But yet we perceive, that, in speculating upon the effects of his new system of training, founded upon the principles of "the science of circumstances,"

¹ We are told that the parish records of Lanark abundantly attest the frailty of many of the imperfectly regenerated daughters of New Society. At present, however, we are bound to presume, that at Motherwell, the female breast is to be guarded by an armor of virtue which shall be proof against all the assaults of all the young men of Hamilton and the adjacent villages. It is somewhat amusing to think of the astonishment which the more presumptuous among these young men will experience at the unprecedented failure of all their attempts.—C. N.

he keeps these original diversities entirely out of view, and forgets to ascribe to them any portion of their known and acknowledged efficacy in modifying the influence of circumstances. His doctrine simply is, that, by educating all men alike well, we shall soon make them all alike good and happy. But then it will be observed, that the system of training which he has in view is one adapted, not to an infinite variety of real subjects, but to one single imaginary subject, which he calls mankind, human nature, etc. Every parish school-master knows, and we can assure Mr. Owen that the teachers at New Lanark have found by experience, that the same kind and gentle usage, which calls forth the gratitude and stimulates the exertions of a boy of mild disposition, will encourage rebellion in another of a turbulent and unruly temper. The best systems of education, therefore, are undoubtedly those which afford the most perfect provision for those natural diversities which subsist among the minds of children; or at least no good system can entirely want such a provision. The passions of shame, hope, and fear, must be alternately addressed, and are alternately addressed, in old society, but each with different results in different cases. How Mr. Owen's proposed system of education can be carried on entirely by kindness, and without addressing these passions in some mode or other, we cannot well guess. We are afraid, then, that he must just be contented to retain all the more essential *principles* of the old system; and if so, let him prove to us, if he can, that he is entirely to change human nature by means of those apparently unimportant alterations which he means to adopt in the mode of reducing these principles into practice.

Mr. Owen, instead of following the Baconian process of induction, and carefully observing whether or not his affirmations are separately true of every single individual, seems simply to have satisfied himself that they accord generally with his abstract idea of the species of man; an idea into which the peculiarities of John, James, and William do not at all enter. Thus, he thinks he has discovered, that, in order to be happy, men have only to be good, and kind, and benevolent. But because he himself, and other excellent moralists, are satisfied of the justice of this principle, he at once concludes, not merely that all mankind must soon be convinced of it too, but that each single and separate individual scoundrel must, of necessity, adopt it as a

principle of action, sufficiently strong to repress every selfish and turbulent appetite, which now rules supreme in his breast. Following up this notable conclusion, he tells the children of his establishments to be good, and kind to each other, and avoid selfishness; but parents, ministers of religion and teachers of youth, do the same in old society. Now, what peculiar charm are these good advices to acquire by issuing out of his mouth, and the mouths of those who are to carry his system into effect? Are not those who believe in the Christian religion convinced that they must obey the commands of God in order to be happy, not only in this life, but throughout all eternity? But who among them has not to reproach himself every day on account of his disobedience? And yet Mr. Owen flatters himself that he can ensure an universal obedience to *his* precepts, merely because he himself is convinced, and so hopes to convince all mankind, that they must act conformably to them, and in opposition to the strongest principles of their nature, in order to be comfortable and happy in the present world! Is it possible for vain man to entertain a hope so foolish?

Punishments and rewards have, in all ages, constituted the chief instruments which men have employed in forming the characters, and regulating the conduct, of their fellow-creatures. But these are to form no part of the "*circumstances*" of new society, as controlled by Mr. Owen and his friends.

According to them, all punishments and all rewards are alike unreasonable in principle, and injurious in their consequences to society. The character of every man, say they, is just such as nature gave him, and circumstances have modified; and therefore his conduct, whatever it may be, ought neither to entitle him to praise or reward, nor to subject him to blame or punishment. In order to prove the fallacy of this reasoning, it is by no means necessary, as some appear to have supposed, to establish the doctrine of moral liberty. We leave Mr. Owen to settle with his own conscience the matter of his accountableness in the *next* world. But we tell him, that whether his character has been formed *for* him or *by* him, he, in common with all mankind, may be a fit subject both for punishment and reward, in *this*.

And, *in the first place*, we may remark, that an act which may appear, to a person viewing it in one light only, to be unjust towards an individual, may, nevertheless, when viewed in all its bearings, prove to be not only an act of justice to society but

to be even necessary to its very subsistence. But what is punishment, rightly administered, according to the more correct notions entertained of it in old society; or in what light can *it* be viewed as unjust? Mr. Owen's mistake seems to consist in supposing it to be an infliction of evil, for the mere purpose of giving pain to an individual; for, on no other supposition can he be justified in condemning it. It is, however, an infliction of evil, intended to conduce to the general good, and sanctioned by this broad principle of all law, that the rights of individuals must yield to the higher rights of the communities to which they belong. Therefore, until Mr. Owen shows us the *inexpediency* of punishment, and proves to us that society can subsist without it, he must admit that the principle upon which it, in common with reward, is founded, is quite correct. He asserts, it is true, that the time is fast approaching when, through the blessed influence of his system, the reign of folly and of crime shall cease, and when Christopher North and the administrators of the law shall be alike useless to mankind. We leave him and his disciples in full and undisturbed possession of this most pleasant dream; and we sincerely wish that we could participate with them in the enjoyment of it.

But, *secondly*, we would ask, are the punishments which God and Nature inflict—the punishments of conscience—unjust? Surely, if it were true that the consideration of our characters being formed *for* us, and not *by* us, necessarily does away all guilt, it should necessarily do away all remorse also; and therefore, according to Mr. Owen's system, the man who has committed the most horrid crimes, who has murdered his father or his child, should regard his own conduct with the same self-complacency with him who has performed the most virtuous or heroic actions. But since we find that, in fact, the criminal has it not in his power to still the clamorings of conscience, it necessarily follows, by a *reductio ad absurdum*, either that God, in constituting our minds, has erred and done injustice, or else that Mr. Owen, in reprobating all punishment, is, in some way or other, mistaken.

Thirdly, Mr. Owen will observe, that a single word inadvertently spoken,—even an involuntary look,—may frequently constitute punishment severer than stripes. How, then, are mankind able, even though they were willing, to cease altogether

from inflicting punishment? Surely Mr. Owen does not wish that the whole world should be perfectly indifferent with respect to his own character. But if any one feels for him the highest esteem, is not this of itself reward? If any one regards him with utter detestation, may not this of itself be punishment?

And *lastly*, a community where no individual possesses any kind of ambition, either honorable or dishonorable, is an anomaly which cannot well be conceived. We would like to know what stimuli Mr. Owen thinks he can substitute for those implanted by nature in the human mind, which will be of sufficient strength to prevent such a community from sinking speedily into wretchedness and barbarism. For what a useless being were man, destitute of the hope of reward! Everything great and noble in his nature would be repressed; since those motives which alone are capable of inciting him to great and noble actions, would have lost all their efficacy. Mr. Owen expressly condemns every kind of emulation, as leading to conduct decidedly selfish. He tells us, that, in new society, men will be convinced of the folly of striving for preeminence over their fellows;—or, in other words, that they will seek for no kind of honorable distinction. Is this consummation desirable?—or, if desirable, can it be attained?

We admit that much ignorance has often prevailed in the world with respect to the nature of punishment, and the proper mode of administering it. With the desire of benefiting its unfortunate objects, the love of revenge is too often improperly blended. But which of our lawful desires is always found pure, and uncontaminated by others that are unlawful? It is not the less necessary for school-masters to use the rod, because they sometimes gratify their own selfish feelings by doing so, at the same time that they benefit their pupils.

Let Mr. Owen, however, make what improvements he pleases, upon the system of rewards and punishments at present established in old society, provided he does not attempt to do them away altogether. In the education of children, for example, let him make use of no other motives than those addressed directly to the moral feelings, if he finds that, in practice, corporal inflictions may be advantageously dispensed with. In short, let him elevate and improve our nature as much as he can, by taking it as he finds it, and working upon its original elements.

But let him not rashly and presumptuously attempt to give it a new birth, by changing its essential properties, and altering the laws of its inherent constitution.

Perhaps we have now said enough concerning the abstract principles upon which Mr. Owen's system is built. Hitherto our task has been rather an unpleasant one, occupied as we have been solely in reviewing what we believe to be the errors of a person whom we esteem for the purity of his motives, and whom every one must acknowledge to have done much real good,—in educating the poor—in studying their personal comfort,—and in abridging their hours of labor. Perhaps, however, when we may hereafter find time to resume the subject of the present article, and come to treat of his economical arrangements, as suited to the condition of the working classes, we shall find that these arrangements, modified and controlled, as they doubtless will be, by the good sense of the country gentlemen who have already sanctioned their adoption, may have something in them to meet our approbation.

CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM

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The Christian Socialist Movement of the Middle of the Century.

J. M. Ludlow

What was first called "Christian Socialism" in England,—a very different thing, I need hardly say, from that which now calls itself so in Germany or Austria,—although the name was not adopted till 1850, dates in fact, as a self-conscious effort, from what Mr. Maurice once called "that awful year 1848," which he said he should "always look upon as one of the great epochs in history." Socialism—we should always take care not to narrow that word to the creed of this or that group of the day, which may arrogate to itself a special right to it—then burst out of obscurity as a power capable of upsetting thrones. The idea of working together instead of working against one another, of possessing together instead of possessing exclusively for one's self, had taken hold of the workers themselves more or less in all the capitals and great towns of Europe, but more especially in that capital which then, much more than now, led the popular thought of the continent,—Paris. Be it observed that the Socialism of those days was not the atheistic Socialism of the later German schools. All the Socialist leaders of the continent were French, and, however far they might be from Christianity, not one of them professed or inculcated atheism. The earliest among them, a child of the first French revolution, Fourier, inveighed against atheism and materialism; and if, with the strangest irreverence, he ranked God as one of three first principles with nature and mathematics, he recognized Him as Creator, as the source of unity and distributive justice, as the universal Providence, and held that our social evils acted as a limit on his justice and goodness. St. Simon's last work was entitled "A Treatise on the New Christianity," and professed to show the means of carrying out the law of God. Proudhon began his eccentric career by a prize essay on the Celebration of Sunday." Cabet, a pure Communist, of very inferior intellectual caliber to the men I have mentioned, called the work in which he set forth his social views, "True Christianity." Louis Blanc

urged men to have "a brave enough trust in God's justice to struggle against the permanence of evil and its lying immortality." In one of his most remarkable works, that on "Christianity and Its Democratic Origin," Pierre Leroux wrote that "if Christianity be wholly a gross error of the human mind, the best thing to do is to doubt everything, and declare forever the human spirit incapable of establishing any moral truth on a solid basis." The most practical of all the French Socialist leaders, Buchez, was at once an ardent democrat and a convinced Roman Catholic. Even in England, if Robert Owen, in his celebrated address at the London Tavern, August 21, 1817, declared that "in all the religions which have been hitherto forced on the minds of men, deep, dangerous, and lamentable principles of disunion, division, and separation" had been "fast entwined with all their fundamental dogmas," yet so far was he from opposing Christianity as such that a few minutes before he had declared that "individualized man and all that is truly valuable in Christianity are so separated as to be utterly incapable of union through all eternity. Let those," he said, "who are interested for the universal adoption of Christianity endeavor to understand this." Working altogether in the shade, the mystic Greaves, the "Sacred Socialist," taught that "all human laws not in accordance with divine laws are founded on error."

When I put all these utterances of mid-century Socialism together, I feel, far more deeply even than I did in 1848 that, with whatever false and even immoral teaching they were mixed, they represented a passionate cry for a uniting Christ. To that cry the churches, without one single exception, were deaf. Instead of seeking to understand the movement, to distinguish in it between what was genuine, living, hopeful, and what was false, excessive, dangerous, they looked on bewildered, or joined with its opponents to hoot and crush the whole thing down. Only here and there a minister of religion heard that cry. On the continent, I can really recall but one name at the time I speak of, that of Philippe Boucher, a minister of the French Calvinist church, but he had no helpers. The first clergyman to hear the cry in England was Frederick Denison Maurice, then professor of English literature and modern history and of theology at King's College, and chaplain of Lincoln's Inn. One of the most valuable amongst his published volumes, that on "The Lord's Prayer," contained sermons preached between February 13 and

April 9, 1848, and consequently covers the outbreak of the French revolution of February in that year. In the sermon of March 5, on the words "Thy will be done, as in heaven so in earth," the following passages may be noted: "How can one ever make it a charge against any people that they hope for a brotherhood upon earth? . . . Every hope points upwards; if it cannot find an object, it is in search of one; you cannot crush it without robbing your fellow-creatures of a witness for God and an instrument of purification. . . . Christianity as a mere system of doctrines or practices will never make men brothers. By Christianity we must understand the reconciliation of mankind to God in Christ, we must understand the power and privilege of saying 'Our Father—Thy will be done in earth as it is in heaven.' . . . This prayer . . . does not treat the projects of men for universal societies, unbounded pantisocracies, as too large. It overreaches them all with these words, 'as in heaven.'" The whole spirit of Christian Socialism is in such passages, though the term was not used, as I have said, till two years later.

It would be affectation for me to seek to conceal the share which I may have had in leading Mr. Maurice to the expression of such views. Seven years later, in dedicating to me his volume on "Learning and Working," he spoke of a letter which he had received from me early in the year 1848, when I had seen Paris immediately after the expulsion of the Orleans family, as having "had a very powerful effect" upon his thoughts at the time, and having "given a direction to them ever since." I had dear ones in Paris when the revolution took place; I had reached the city by the first train that entered it on the railway that I had chosen; I had spent much of my stay in the streets, which offered the most marvelous spectacle I have ever witnessed. The gagging of public opinion by the Louis Philippe régime having suddenly ceased, the whole city seemed bubbling out into speech. A man brought a stool or a chair, got up on it, and began to speak on any conceivable subject. If two men spoke a little loudly together in the street, a group formed round them in two minutes. Well-nigh all Paris was from morning till night one Athenian *agora*; or, say, what the northeast corner of Hyde Park is today in London of a Sunday afternoon, except that what is now the routine of open-air speaking was then an eagerly sought novelty. And the keynote of all was that

this was not a political but a social revolution, and the largest groups always indicated a speaker on some social subject. There was no hostility to religion and none to its outward manifestations, as there had been at the revolution of 1830, when I had been living in Paris: priests, instead of putting on civil dresses, passed in their clerical costumes unmolested through the streets; Sisters of Charity met with nothing but affectionate sympathy. I never saw a priest or a minister of any denomination address the crowd. The conviction was forced upon me that Socialism must be Christianized, but that only a truly social Christianity could do the work. Such was the purport of the letter in question.

The state of things in England was different. The popular movement here was still mainly political, not social. Chartism was the chief disturbing force. And although there had latterly been a disposition among the Chartist to take up social questions, it must never be forgotten that the "six points" of the "People's Charter"—universal suffrage, annual parliaments, vote by ballot, equal electoral districts, payment of members, and no property qualification—dealt with no single subject which would now be called a social one. Still, the abortive Chartist meeting of April 10, 1848, was unquestionably the direct result of the French social revolution of February.

I have told elsewhere (*Economic Review* for October, 1893)—and the story is also told more or less in the "Life of Maurice" and that of Kingsley (not quite correctly in the latter)—how the accident of my not having cared to claim a special constable's truncheon brought me into contact and friendship with Charles Kingsley; how a placard by the latter addressed to the "Workmen of England" was posted all over London; how the issue was decided on of a weekly periodical, *Politics for the People*, of which Mr. Maurice and I were joint editors. Properly speaking, that journal represents the beginning of the Christian Socialist movement in its application to political subjects; but we took the word "politics" in its broadest sense, since we claimed that not only "the rights of a man in the eyes of the law, and his functions, if any, in the business of government," but "the rate of his wages, and the interest he gets for his money, and the state of his dwelling, and the cut of his coat, and the print he stops to look at, and the tune he hums, and the books he reads, and the talk he has with his neighbors, and the love he bears to his wife and children and friends, and

the blessing he asks of his God,—ay, and still more, the love which he does *not* bear to others, and the blessing he does *not* ask of his God,—are all political matters." The paper lasted three months only. But its results were not unimportant. Round a nucleus, at the center of which was Mr. Maurice, consisting at first of Kingsley, his friend Charles Mansfield, and myself, it brought a band of young or middle-aged men from the educated classes, anxious to help their fellows, who began soon to meet one evening a week at Mr. Maurice's house. The extinction of Politics for the People only led to another kind of work, the setting-up of a free evening school,—at first only for men, but into which boys, too, soon forced their way,—in a yard of Great Ormond Street (nearly opposite what is now the Working Men's College), with a very rough population, which (in conjunction with a girls' school under a mistress paid by us) it ended by civilizing. A few months later, a series of weekly meetings commenced for reading the Bible under Mr. Maurice's guidance, a deeply interesting account of which, by one of the most valuable members of our little group, Charles Mansfield, will be found in Mr. Maurice's life. These were continued for several years, and I shall always say were the very heart of the movement while they lasted. Many of us, I may observe, were in the habit of attending the Sunday afternoon services at Lincoln's Inn Chapel, when the chaplain preached.

Moreover, in the very month of July, 1848, which was the last of Politics for the People's brief life, there had appeared in Fraser's Magazine the first part of "Yeast"; and though the ill health of its author brought the work to an untimely conclusion in December of that year, it had given unmistakable proof that we had in our little band a novelist of real genius, one who looked straight at the evils of the day and could speak plainly upon them. And we had another amongst us who, although none of us guessed it, was destined before many years were over to write a work of wide-spreading influence, under the guise of a mere novel for boys, the future author of "Tom Brown's School Days," who had joined us just when we were planning our free school in Little Ormond Yard. For a time, and indeed for years afterwards, we knew in "Tom Hughes"—as his honor, Judge Hughes, Q.C., is still for all his old friends—only the most active of fellow-workers, the most genial of companions.

But we were still only feeling our way. To say nothing of

our clerical fellow-workers, two or three of us laymen had taken part in parochial work, and had come into contact with working men. But not a single one of us knew any working man to whom he could go as a friend. Yet meanwhile, unconsciously to ourselves, we had opened up a way to what was needed. Politics for the People had had a few—a very few—working men readers, and two or three working men correspondents. They were attracted by the tone of the paper, and yet distrusted it. When it failed, they recognized that it had been a genuine attempt to reach their class. One of these men was a tailor in Fetter Lane, a Scotchman, brought up in the narrowest Calvinism, but from whom all faith had dropped away, and who had become a lecturer upon Strauss, then the leading infidel teacher. A dear friend of mine, a Scripture reader with whom I had become connected in parochial work, directed my attention to this man, and, he having prepared the way, I called upon him. It was Walter Cooper, who for some years did excellent work with us, but, alas, eventually went to the bad altogether. Whilst perfectly courteous, he was very outspoken. Yet he admitted himself to have been struck by a new tone in Politics for the People, and was anxious to know more about the men connected with it. I persuaded him to go to hear Mr. Maurice. He went, and was at first perfectly bewildered, but went again and again, till he understood, and then became a regular attendant. I introduced him to Mr. Maurice, and to several other of our friends. He brought one or two of his own to Lincoln's Inn Chapel. He suggested that Mr. Maurice should meet the working men. This led to a series of conferences beginning in April, 1849, which brought Mr. Maurice and his friends into direct contact with all that was most thoughtful and most earnest in the London working class, together with a good deal that was merely frothy and unreal. It was clear after a few months that the questions which lay nearest to the hearts of these London working men were no longer political, but social ones. And a powerful stimulus in this direction was being afforded by the publication in the Morning Chronicle of three series of letters on labor and the poor, by its own commissioners, which commenced while the conferences were going on, and were soon found to contain the most awful revelations as to the condition of the working class, both in London and in the provinces.

That autumn I went over to Paris. It was the golden time of the *associations ouvrières*,—societies for productive cooperation. I say “golden time” in a moral sense, for if they were no longer persecuted by the government, as they had been after the insurrection of June, 1848 (although I was assured that, with scarcely any exceptions, the men of not one of the associations had descended into the streets), still they were viewed with disfavor by the ruling *bourgeoisie*. But never before or since have I seen anything to equal the zeal, the self-devotion, the truly brotherly spirit which pervaded these cooperative work-shops. It seemed to me that they offered the best material solution for the immediate difficulties of the labor question in England as well as in France. I told what I had seen to my friends, and they were all of opinion that funds should, if possible, be raised for setting up an association of working men in London on a basis similar to that adopted in Paris. The tailoring trade, Walter Cooper assured us, was ripe for the experiment. It was agreed to begin with this, he to be manager of the association. At the same time, Mr. Maurice took up again an idea which he had already entertained when *Politics for the People* was started, that of a series of tracts, which came out as “Tracts on Christian Socialism.” And if Little Ormond Yard school had given us T. Hughes for a fellow-workers, the setting up of a cooperative association brought us in time another most valuable recruit, Edward Vansittart Neale.

I have dwelt on these early days of the movement in order, if possible, to bring out its spirit. One often hears it said that the old Christian Socialism aimed only at setting up little associations of working men who should carry on trade on their own account and share the profits. Nothing of the kind. From its earliest years the movement was political; it was educational; it was religious; I might add, it was sanitarian, for (not to speak of some excellent sanitary articles in *Politics for the People*,—for example, on the baking trade, by Dr. Guy, who, however, did not follow us later on) in the autumn of 1849 we carried on a little sanitarian crusade against a particular plague spot in Bermondsey, and projected a Health League with shilling subscriptions, but of this plan Mr. Maurice would not hear. At the very time when we were setting up our first little association, the volume of *Fraser's Magazine* for 1850 opened with an article (by myself) based upon the *Morning Chronicle* letters on labor

and the poor, and under that title (reprinted in 1852 in a series of tracts by Christian Socialists). In this will be found a good deal that many people think to be novelties of the present day. I have heard the Rev. Hugh Price Hughes speak at a meeting in the Jerusalem Chamber of the demand for a "living wage" as a new thing. I can only say that it was the claim of the working class before 1850, and that the article in question put forth the demand—granted within the last few years to a certain extent—that government contracts should be given only to "some fair-dealing man who shall pay his work people living wages" (the singular "wage" was not then an accepted term). If the article recommended (though in other language) cooperation both in production and in consumption, it warned its readers against putting their trust in any single panacea; recommended within certain limits emigration, the revision of the customs tariff, the finding of new employments for women, reforms in the prison and workhouse systems; suggested (what has since been carried out) government clothing workshops; above all, urged the church to "put forth all her strength to grapple with the hundred-headed evil"; declared that "the care of the sick, the reformation of the prisoner, the government of the adult pauper, the training of the pauper child . . . required both a special and religious vocation in the individual, and the support and comfort of an organized fellowship," so that "we must have orders of nurses, orders of prison attendants, orders of workhouse masters, workhouse matrons, workhouse teachers, perhaps parish surgeons." But the article also proclaimed that the remedy for social evils lay, not "in any system or theory, not in any party cry or economical machinery, but in a thorough change of spirit. 'Make me a clean heart, O God, and renew a right spirit within me,' must be the cry of this whole nation. We must feel that we are members of one society, having common profit and common loss; members of one church, many members under one Head; members—to use that most wonderful saying of the Apostle, members one of another." I do not mean to say that all the views thus expressed were shared by all my fellow-workers; some of them I may hold now only in a modified form. But they fairly show what subjects were being discussed amongst us, and prove, I think, that we were not mere men of a hobby, and had not any the slightest notion that cooperative productive associations were to be a cure for all social evils.

But we did think them, and I do think them now, the best remedy—however difficult of application—as yet devised against the evils of the competitive system in trade, the anti-Christian system of “every man for himself, and devil take the hindmost.”

Against that system a ringing blow was struck by Kingsley’s “Cheap Clothes and Nasty,” which was founded mainly, like the article in Fraser, on the revelations of the Morning Chronicle. This came out almost simultaneously with the opening of the Working Tailors’ Association, selling largely from the first. It was not one of the actual tracts on Christian Socialism, but was afterwards reprinted as the second of the tracts by Christian Socialists. And already since early in 1849 (February) Kingsley had been at work on another novel, at first called “The Autobiography of a Cockney Poet,” but eventually published in August, 1850, as “Alton Locke,” and the success of which gave the publishers of Fraser’s Magazine courage, in the following year, to reissue “Yeast” as a volume.

To the “Tracts on Christian Socialism” the title was given by Mr. Maurice himself, as being, he wrote, “the only title which will define our object, and will commit us at once to the conflict we must engage in sooner or later with the un-Social Christians and the un-Christian Socialists.” The first of these tracts, by himself, the “Dialogue Between Somebody (a person of respectability) and Nobody (the writer),” contains that broad exposition of Socialism which can never be too often quoted against any who would force that great word into the narrow limits of their own creed or their own hate: “The watchword of the Socialist is cooperation; the watchword of the anti-Socialist is competition. Any one who recognizes the principle of cooperation as a stronger and truer principle than that of competition has a right to the honor or the disgrace of being called a Socialist.” How little we thought of confining our Socialism to profit-sharing associations is shown by the fact that, out of the eight tracts on Christian Socialism, one (the third) is entitled “What Christian Socialism Has to Do With the Question which Is now Agitating the Church” (referring to a late privy council decision on the subject of baptism); another is a “Dialogue between A and B, Two Clergymen, on the Doctrine of Circumstances as It Affects Priests and People”; and a third is a “Clergyman’s Answer to the Question ‘On What Grounds can

You Associate With Men Generally?" whilst the subsequent series of "Tracts by Christian Socialists" began with one on English history (all four being by Mr. Maurice).

Early in 1850, the starting of the first association of working tailors, with funds advanced by ourselves, having brought in applications from workmen in various other trades, the Society for Promoting Working Men's Associations (a name afterwards changed, owing to legislation which I shall presently advert to, into that of Association for Promoting Industrial and Provident Societies) was established. It was divided into two branches: the promoters, represented by a council, the second of whose functions was "to diffuse the principles of cooperation, as the practical application of Christianity to the purposes of trade and industry"; and the associates, that is the members of the associations connected with the society, represented by a central board. In November, 1850, the *Christian Socialist*, a weekly paper, was started, and carried on till the end of 1851, to be succeeded for six months by the *Journal of Association*.

Into the story of the early associations I need not enter. They all failed. The first established one, that of the tailors, lasted longest, about nine years, and was then broken up through the dishonesty of the manager, that same Walter Cooper whom I have mentioned as our first working man ally,—a failure all the more painful as he had become somewhat prominently connected with the church, and vicar's churchwarden of All Saints, Margaret Street. Looking back, I am not in the least surprised at such failures. We had tried (and were, I still consider, right in trying) cooperation on its more difficult side, that of production (not that cooperation in consumption and distribution was entirely neglected, for two or three co-operative stores were established, and Vansittart Neale set up a central agency, which lasted many years, and prefigured the splendid cooperative wholesale societies of our day). We tried the experiment with men utterly new to the thing, and for the most part what the French would call the *déclassés* of the labor world, men of small or no resources and generally little skill. The trade-unions—themselves having no legal recognition—looked for the most part askance on cooperation. Moreover, when we started work, it was virtually impossible to obtain a legal constitution for our associations, unless under the then

ruinous form of a company, and that only with unlimited liability. Hence much of our effort had to be devoted to the obtaining such a change of the law as would render cooperation legally practicable. We were able, fortunately, to lay the case of the working men fully before a House of Commons committee on the savings and investments of the middle and working classes, to interest several M. P.'s in the matter, and eventually to obtain the passing of the Industrial and Provident Societies Act, 1852, drawn by us, the first of a sequence which still continues. That act, however, still withheld limited liability from cooperative societies; nor was this granted till 1862, seven years after it has been given to companies. And without a limitation of liability, English working men will not associate together in any number.

Again, the Christian Socialist movement brought its promoters into connection with trade-unions,—of all forms of association the one still dearest to the bulk of the skilled workers of the United Kingdom. For, if the greater number of trade-unions, especially the smaller and less educated ones, looked askance upon cooperation, as I have said, we were sought after by that one which contains the very *élite* of the working class, the Amalgamated Society of Engineers; and to nothing in my life do I look back with more satisfaction than to the endeavors I made—in conjunction with Vansittart Neale, T. Hughes, the present Marquis of Ripon, and other friends—towards obtaining a fair hearing for them during the great lockout of engineers in 1852. From the friendly relations then formed between members of the educated classes and the pick of the working class—relations which were extended and confirmed through the establishment of the Working Men's College—may be traced, I believe, by direct filiation, one of the latest and most promising social experiments of our day, the Industrial Union of Employers and Employed, established in June last; and one of the two chairmen of sections of this union was the secretary of the very society (the Amalgamated Society of Engineers) which it was the object of the lockout of 1852 to crush out of existence.

But even in reference to cooperation itself Christian Socialism did not die out. Before ceasing to direct the movement, our association provided for itself a substitute, calling together, in July, 1852, a cooperative conference, of delegates from co-

operative bodies throughout the country, by which an executive committee was appointed, and similar conferences were called from year to year. To this body our association, in November, 1854, virtually resigned the direction of the movement. Those conferences, confined latterly to the societies of Lancashire and Yorkshire, were, I believe, continued without break till 1860, when the first cooperative congress was called in London, parent of an unbroken annual series which still continues. On the list of its convening committee, in 1860, appear the names of Charles Kingsley, T. Hughes, E. Vansittart Neale, my own, and those of three other members of our old body, besides those of various working men with whom we had been brought into contact; T. Hughes presided on the opening day. Later on, in 1879, it was two old Christian Socialists, T. Hughes and Vansittart Neale, who were charged by the Cooperative Union, the outcome of these congresses, with the drawing up of a manual for co-operators. Scholarships at Orient College have been founded by the cooperative body in their two names, and for many years Vansittart Neale held office with unwearied zeal and patience as the secretary of the Cooperative Union. Finally, at the holding, in August last, of an international cooperative congress, one of the old Christian Socialists remained to be asked to take the chair on one of the days of meeting, and another to hold it in his place. The breath of the older Christian Socialism is on English cooperation to this day.

Moreover, when our association abdicated, so far as cooperation was concerned, in favor of the committee appointed by the cooperative conference, it did not go out of existence; its energies were simply transferred in the main, with help from outside, to another field, which it had already opened up. For a twelvemonth we had held classes in various subjects in our Hall of Association, chiefly, but not exclusively, for working associates and their families, and Mr. Maurice's Bible class had been transferred to the hall, and was held on Sunday evenings instead of Saturdays. These classes were now expanded into the Working Men's College, of which Mr. Maurice became the principal. This still subsists and flourished after forty-one years of existence, and is looked upon with singular affection by its students. From it, again, have grown other institutions, the most interesting of which is the South London Art Gallery and

Library, established by a most remarkable man, the first student fellow of the Working Men's College, W. Rossiter. The college, moreover, brought to us as teachers men who, without sharing our views in religious matters, it may be, were in turn brought thereby into contact with the working class, and learned to understand it and sympathize with it; several of them have shown themselves its true friends. I speak of such men as Frederic Harrison and Sir Godfrey Lushington. Certainly, to the minority report of the late Lord Lichfield, F. Harrison, and T. Hughes, as members of the trade-union commission appointed in 1867, is mainly due the trade-union act of 1871 and all subsequent legislation on the subject.

I may seem to have been dwelling too much on what I may call external results; but the Christian Socialist movement was, above all things, a leaven, leavening the whole of English society. It is impossible to measure the effects of Kingsley's novels and poetry on the generation which grew up under their influence; and by their side came to place themselves Hughes's two novels, "Tom Brown" (first published in 1857) and "Tom Brown at Oxford," the teaching of which, I believe, has gone deeper still. I can only say that, nowadays, I find boys fresh from school, girls from the governess's room, with minds at once better instructed and more open on social subjects than were those of their fathers and mothers thirty or forty years ago.

The name of our master, Maurice, may seem, in these recollections, to have dropped out of sight. A man whose sensitiveness was all but morbid, for many years he kept out of any active connection with the various movements directly springing from the Christian Socialist one; not from want of sympathy, which never failed on his part, but from fear of compromising them by his name and aid. But never in his teaching did he depart by one hair's breadth from the principles which he had sought to lay down. I find the whole spirit of Christian Socialism in the last pages of his last work, the "Lectures on Social Morality": "We want for the establishment and rectification of our social morality not to dream ourselves into some imaginary past or some imaginary future, but to use that which we have, to believe our own professions, to live as if all we utter when we seem to be most in earnest were not a lie. Then we may

find that the principle and habit of self-sacrifice which is expressed in the most comprehensive human worship supplies the underground for national equity, freedom, courage, for the courtesies of common intercourse, the homely virtues and graces which can be brought under no rules, but which constitute the chief charm of life, and tend most to abate its miseries. Then every tremendous struggle with ourselves, whether we shall degrade our fellow-creatures, men or women, or live to raise them,—struggles to which God is not indifferent, if we are,—may issue in a real belief that we are members one of another, and that every injury to one is an injury to the whole body. Then it will be found that refinement and grace are the property of no class, that they may be the inheritance of those who are as poor as Christ and his apostles were, because they are human. So will there be discovered beneath all the polities of the earth, sustaining the order of each country, upholding the charity of each household, a city which has foundations, whose builder and maker is God. It must be for all kindreds and races; therefore, with the sectarianism which rends humanity asunder, with the imperialism which would substitute for universal fellowship a universal death, must it wage implacable war. Against these we pray as often as we ask that God's will may be done on earth as it is in Heaven."

In concluding, I may observe that I have not dwelt on those attacks that in the early years of which I have spoken, met us from all sides, and in the case of Mr. Maurice rose to bitter persecution. All parties in church and state treated us alike as dangerous madmen. For some years, at least, I do not think there was any one of us who did not suffer more or less in his profession or prospects for having dared to call himself a Christian Socialist; and a few there were who, having put their hand to the plow, looked back. For myself, whilst thanking God for having granted me to take part in the Christian Socialist efforts of the mid-century, I can only feel ashamed that I did not do more and do better.

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Christianity versus Socialism. Rev. Lyman Abbott, D.D.

"Socialism means, or wishes to mean, cooperation and community of interests, sympathy, the giving to the hands not so large a share as to the brains, but a larger share than hitherto in the wealth they must combine to produce,—means, in short, the secret of an orderly and benign reconstruction." So says James Russell Lowell, in his essay on "Democracy" (page 40). This is what Christianity also means, or wishes to mean. How, then, do they differ from each other? This is the question to which I propose in this paper to give a partial answer. My aim is not to compare the Socialism of the reds, with all its crude theories and sometimes revolutionary and even riotous spirit, with the Christianity of ecclesiasticism, with all its ceremonialism and scholastic tendencies. The one is as foreign to the intelligent Socialism of modern thinkers as the other to the simplicity of the method and spirit of Jesus Christ. My aim is to take what is best and purest in Socialism with what is best and purest in Christianity, and compare them. And, in doing this, I make no secret of my aim, which is to justify, after a well-considered comparison of the two, the methods of the Christian church and the Christian ministry, and their refusal to abandon their methods for the philosophy and the methods of modern Christless Socialism.

Let me frankly concede, at the outset, that the contrast here suggested is, perhaps, unduly heightened by the antithesis. Christianity and Socialism shade off into each other; and if, on the one hand, modern Socialism is largely pervaded by Christianity, it is also true that modern Christianity is, in its practical workings, rightly adapted to and modified by the socialistic needs and movements of the age. Leaving this general statement to qualify what follows, I endeavor, without repeating this qualification in each paragraph, to put the methods of a Christless and of a Christian Socialism—or, in more popular phrase, the methods of Christianity and Socialism—in contrast, for the purpose of at once interpreting, and defending from attack and unintelligent criticism, the methods of Christianity in dealing with socialistic problems.

I. In the first place, then, all varied forms of social philanthropy proceed on the assumption that the thing essential to

be done is to modify the social organism. They proceed on the assumption that, if the social organism can be made right, the condition of mankind will be made right. There are as many different sects in what we call socialistic philanthropy as there are in the Christian church, or, if not as many, they are, at least, as antagonistic. One social reformer tells us that we must abolish the tariff, and then prices will be lowered and wealth will be distributed; another tells us that we must raise the tariff, and then wages will be raised and wealth will be distributed. One social reformer tells us we must levy all taxes on the land and take them off everything else; another tells us we must take them off the land and levy them on incomes. One social reformer tells us we must increase the power and extend the functions of government; another, that government is a failure, or, at best, a necessary evil, and that we must reduce its powers or abolish it altogether. But the high-tariff man and the free-trader, the land-tax and the income-tax advocate, the state socialist and the anarchist, widely as they differ, all agree in this one fundamental doctrine—that if we can only make the social organism right, humanity will be well taken care of.

They strike at the vice in the organism; demand reform in the organism; seek changes that can be wrought by legislation in the organism. Jesus Christ proceeded on a directly opposite assumption. He made almost no attempt to change social order or the social organism. The system of taxation that prevailed in the Roman Empire was abominably unjust. Christ said never a word about taxation. Labor was not only underpaid and ill-paid, but, for the most part, worked with its hands in manacles; but Christ said never a word about slavery. If drinking and drunkenness were not as bad in their forms then as they are now, by reason of the modern use of distilled liquors, then comparatively unknown, drinking habits and animalism, in all its forms, were worse in Greece than they have ever been in America; but Christ never levelled his shafts against the man that sold liquor, or against the liquor trade, or against the making of wine. Phariseeism was a phase of a great hierachial system. Christ did not strike at the hierarchy and the system; he struck at the pharisee, not at the *ism*. He struck at the injustice, not at the form which the injustice took on at a particular era, in a particular country, under particular circumstances. He sought to change, not methods, but men. He struck, not at the outward

clothing of the wrong, but at the wrong itself. Accordingly, he said almost nothing about social evils and a great deal about individual sins. In strictness of speech, a nation does not sin. The individuals that make up the nation are the sinners. Sins are individual, and Christ proceeded on the assumption that, if we can get rid of sin in the individual, we shall get rid of evil in the state; but if we leave the sin in the individual, all social reform will result only in a change in the form of social evil.

Christ indicated in this respect the method which the Christian church has, with more or less deviation, followed ever since. The Christian Church is not, and does not undertake to be, a social-reform organization; nor is the Christian minister a social reformer. Father McGlynn leaves the Roman Catholic church, and Hugh O. Pentecost leaves the Congregational church, and they go out into the halls and say, Follow us. But we do not, and do not intend to, follow them. We decline to turn aside from our work to debate the question whether the land tax or income tax, free trade or revenue reform, State Socialism or *laissez-faire*, are right or wrong, beneficent or maleficent. Our business is different. Our business is to make men, and trust that out of right manhood will grow right systems.

This radical difference is best seen in a glance at the proposals of the radical Socialist. He believes in manufacture, not in growth, of men. He would rub off from the slate all the experience of past history; then take the slate and write a new scheme for the industry of the future. A man who cannot organize his own household, who cannot live in peace with his own wife, who cannot manage his own children, who cannot earn money enough to keep his toes from peeping through his shoes or his elbows through his coat-sleeves, is ready to tell us how we are to organize the industry of the world. But it is our Christian belief that social organisms are not to be manufactured. One cannot take a bit of timber here and a bit of iron there and make a new shelter for humanity. Social organism is a growth; and the fundamental condition of growth is personal manhood, out of which growth may come. It is not possible to make a solid ship out of rotten timber. It is the business of the forest, not to make masts and keels and knees and ships, but to make trees; when the trees are made, then men will take them and make of them masts and keels and knees and

ships. It is not the work of the mountain to turn the busy machinery. It is the work of the mountain to furnish the springs and streams that gather together into a river which will drive the machinery. It is the work of the Christian Church to make the trees out of which the social ship shall be constructed, to keep full in men's hearts the spiritual and moral life which shall drive aright all industries, all political and social organisms of the world's industry. The work of the Christian Church is, the work of Christ was, primarily individual; only secondarily social and organic. Christ's method was based on the assumption that, if individuals were made right, society would rectify itself; and that is the method which he has bequeathed to the Christian Church and the Christian ministry. It is not for the Church to tell what justice demands in taxation, but to develop such a spirit of justice in the hearts of men that they will work out that which is just in government. It is not the vocation of the minister to tell the capitalist what he must do in the organization of his labor, nor to tell the laborer what he must do in his treatment of the capitalist. It is the business of the Christian Church and the Christian ministry to inspire such sentiments of humanity and good-will in the hearts of the children of men, such faith in the Golden Rule and the brotherhood of humanity, that the capitalist and the laborer will find it easy to shake hands with each other and go on their way rejoicing.

This is not because Christ was indifferent to social evils; not because the Church is indifferent to social evils, or a defender of the social order. From the days of Paul down to the present time, the true apostles and followers of Christ have been men that were turning the world upside down; and they will go on turning the world upside down until it gets right side up. But the process of revolution is one that must be wrought in the hearts of individual men. There is no short cut to the millennium by a manufactured social order.

II. In the second place, modern social philanthropy proceeds, primarily, in its work of reform by endeavoring to rectify man's environment. It does not work primarily upon the individual, but upon society; nor upon his character, but upon his circumstances. It acts upon the philosophy that man is made by his environment; that his surroundings are the creator, and he is the creature. Accordingly, it demands clean streets, better food, good sewerage, improved lighting, improved tenements, and so on to the end of the chapter.

Now, this was not Christ's method. Christ dealt with men, not with circumstances. Pauperism was far more common in the first century than it is today; but Christ said nothing about pauperism. He did not even suggest its abolition. There was immeasurably less regard paid to sanitary conditions in the first century than there is today. Christ did not attempt to teach men sanitary and hygienic reforms. This was not wholly because sanitary science was unknown; for he had less to say about it than had Moses, fourteen centuries before. Modern social philanthropy proceeds on the assumption that, if you can make the environment right, the environment will make the men. Christ proceeded on the assumption that, if you can make men right, the men will make the environment. Social reformers wish us to abandon our spiritual work, in churches, Sabbath-schools, and missions; they propose to us to lay aside the Bible, substitute a primer on hygiene, stop preaching, and go out and clean the streets; stop talking about morals and religion, and give men decent homes and good sewerage; get rid of sewage-gas first and sin afterwards.

That, certainly, has not been the way of the Christian Church in the past, and will not be its way in the future. We do not disesteem sanitary reform, but our way to sanitary reform is, primarily and chiefly, by the reform of character. Circumstances do not make men; men make circumstances. Even the oyster makes his own shell. Changing one's circumstances does not change his character. The lie of the lady in silk or the gentleman in broadcloth, spoken with a smile, while standing on the Wilton carpet, is as base a lie as the lie of the man in rags, with a grin on his face, while standing on the sanded floor. The indulgence which eats with a golden spoon is no whit better than the indulgence which eats with a wooden spoon. The pig is a pig still, whether it roots in the garden or wallows in the sty. It is not environment that makes men: men make environment. The same ocean washes Ireland and England; the same sun smiles on them both; the same beneficent fogs and rains fall on their greenswards; and the same kind of green grass springs up for them, making verdure in the one island as in the other. Why is Ireland Ireland, and England England? Because one is inhabited by the Celt, and the other by the Anglo-Saxon; and, I may add, because one lives under the stimulating power of a Protestant faith, and the other under the dwarfing and deadening power of a Roman Catholic ritualism. It is not the business of min-

isters and churches to make clean streets or improved tenements. It is their business, if they speak to landlords, to speak such sentiments of justice and truth that no man that rents a house shall leave the miserable tenement without air, without water, without sunlight. It is their business, if they preach to the poor, to preach such a gospel of cleanliness and order and decency that no man in his poverty will consent to live without these three things—fresh air, fresh water, God's sunlight.

III. In the third place, modern social philanthropy proceeds on the assumption that, in social reform, we are to begin with the lowest factor in man and work up to the higher. First, it says, deal with the body, then with the intellect, then with the ethical nature, and finally, if there is time and force left, with the spiritual condition of things. Give good food, good clothing, good external conditions. Build not a church, but a Palace of Delight. Following after these, give education, give schools and languages; let the intellect be developed. Then organize societies for ethical culture. Teach the second table of the law: Thou shalt not steal; thou shalt not kill; thou shalt not commit adultery. As for God and immortality and Christ and theology, we will talk about that when we get to it.

Now, that was not Christ's method. He did not begin with the bottom of man and work up to the top. He began at the top of man and worked down towards the bottom. He did not attempt to lift men up by a leverage applied from below: he attempted to lift men up by a hand reached down from above. Did he not feed five thousand in the wilderness? Yes!—after he had preached all day; but he preached first and fed afterwards. These four things are, in Socialism, placed in this order: First, what makes for the welfare of man's body; second, of his intellect; third, of his ethical nature; lastly, of his spiritual nature. But in Christ's order, spirit comes first, morality second, the intellect third, body last of all. Christ assumed, Christianity assumes, that in every man, behind the shell, it may be, of rags and filthiness, behind the more impenetrable shell of luxurious and selfish wealth,—in every man, somewhere, there is a sentiment of reverence, of love, of divine manhood; and it is the work of the Christian Church and of the Christian ministry, as throughout all ages it is the work of God himself, to brood the soul until he has kindled into life this spiritual nature. When that spiritual nature has been kindled into life, it will develop

an ethical life, it will demand an intellectual education, it will build up for itself the conditions of physical well-being.

To sum up in a sentence, then, this antithesis between the method of Socialism and the method of Christianity: the church has often, like the priest and Levite in the parable, passed by on the other side, and left wounded humanity to the care of the heretic, while it hurried on to the temple service at Jerusalem. For that disregard of humanity in a pretended consecration to God, I have no words but of indignation and contempt. But in our care of humanity we adhere, not blindly or superstitiously, but deliberately and with due consideration, to the principles and methods of Jesus Christ. We rejoice in legal, social, sanitary reform, and give Godspeed to all such reformers; but, in our work as churches and ministers, we propose to work for the rebuilding of men rather than for the reforming of social organizations; for the change of character rather than of environment; and by appeals to men in the order of moral supremacy, appealing first to the dominant sentiments of reverence, hope, faith, and love; second, to the intellectual and social considerations of prudence and present well-being; last of all, to the mere physical and animal nature and its needs.

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The New Socialism. C. B. Spahr.

Within the past month two journals have been started in Boston, advocating step-by-step national Socialism. The first of these, the Nationalist, numbers among its contributors men of all creeds and no creed—including Thomas Wentworth Higginson, Rabbi Solomon Schindler, and the Rev. Edward Everett Hale. The other, the Dawn, is avowedly Christian in faith, and is indeed a new religious journal, having for its one doctrine the essential identity of Christianity and Socialism. Its contributors are mainly ministers—members of a society of "Christian Socialists." The best known of those writing for the first issue is, perhaps, the Rev. James O. S. Huntington, who for years has been at work among the poor of this city as a salaried clergyman, and now enters the ranks of manual labor in order completely to identify himself with the class for whom he is working. In the Dawn the doctrine of the brotherhood of man is made the correl-

ative of the Fatherhood of God. In the Nationalist there is, of course, no such theological formulation, but the religious spirit is quite as intense. Here it is "the religion of humanity" that is preached, and the "better future" which inspires hope and effort is that which awaits "the heirs of time" when the social revolution is accomplished.

The elevation of thought and sentiment which characterizes these two journals forbids their dismissal with a mere word as to the weakness of their political program. Almost without exception, the writers are Americans, with the best of Puritan blood. Quite without exception, they belong to what they themselves would call "the privileged classes." Theodore Parker once said that the democracy that was wanted was not that which said, "I am as good as you are," but that which said, "You are as good as I am." In this movement we have a Socialism which is of the latter type. Instead of an appeal to the poor that "there is no reason why we who do the hardest and most repulsive work should receive the lowest pay," we find the appeal to the rich that "there is no reason why we who do the lightest and most attractive work should receive the highest pay." The duty of the rich to grant takes the place of the right of the poor to seize. But the fact that it is granting and not grasping which is urged does not signify that it is merely the Socialism of a charity sermon that is preached. On the contrary, it is German socialism of the most radical type. Not content with making absolute altruism the religion of the individual, it is made the religion of the State—a religion which the State shall impose upon every citizen.

This identification of Christianity with State Socialism is, of course, nothing new. A number of years ago, when Prince Bismarck first broached his policy of diverting the German masses by the rattle of Socialistic playthings, he replied to the objection, "This is Socialism," by asserting, "It is Christianity." Conscientious, no doubt, was the assertion; yet the workings of the principle have not been such as to make any one really in sympathy with the masses unlearn the old lesson, taught by Adam Smith, that when the national government interferes in industrial affairs, it always takes as its counsellors the representatives of the richest and most powerful interests. Compulsory insurance of the workingmen has been introduced. One-third of the amount to be paid them in insurance is deducted directly from their wages; another third is nominally paid by their employers, but in the long run

indirectly deducted, with the additional evil of increasing their dependence upon their present masters by practically involving a deferred payment of wages. The remaining third is paid by the government—the amount being raised by a protective tax on breadstuffs, which also is paid by the working classes, and yields five dollars to the landlords where it yields one to the government.

The workings of State Socialism in our own country, whenever administered by the national government, are similar in character. Subsidies have been granted to railroads because of the indirect benefits they conferred upon the farmers, while none have ever been proposed for the farmers because of the indirect benefits they conferred upon the railroads. The taxing of the poorer classes in order to pay the labor-bill of the richer is the guiding principle of our tariff, but no one ever thought of taxing the richer in order to pay the rent-bill of the poorer. These facts have sufficiently demonstrated that the common good as understood by the national government is the good of those who are rich and powerful enough to make their influence felt at Washington.

Yet it is national Socialism which the Nationalists and the "Christian Socialists" wish to promote in America. It is, perhaps, somewhat to the credit of their judgment, if not of their logic, that they do not at once attempt to make their reform "planetary." Nevertheless, in advocating a national organization for their cooperative commonwealth they ignore the fact that the cooperative principle has rarely been successfully applied, except by the smallest organizations, political or industrial, and there only when the business management has been easily understood and closely watched by the whole body of the cooperators. In such cases we have nothing to urge against the value of the principle. It is already successfully applied in most departments of public works and in the support of our school system. It is being applied to the suppression of trades which injure the community instead of serving it. It will doubtless be applied more and more rigorously to the prevention of extortion on the part of combinations and natural monopolies. Yet this principle of combined resistance to anti-social forces is very different from that which lies at the basis of German Socialism. The American movement against monopolies, natural and unnatural, is merely to enforce the principle that the capital invested therein shall exact as nearly as possible the rates of interest which the presence

of free competition would establish. It is "dead rent," and the dividends upon certificates representing merely the capitalization of proposed extortion, which cause the entire outcry against Trusts—an outcry which comes mainly from those who would be the last to maintain that there is any industry in which the capital actually employed in production is not entitled to the competitive rate of interest. This principle of competitive rates as the measure of just payment is the one thing in "*bourgeois economy*" which the Socialists repudiate with the greatest violence. Capital, they say, is entitled to no compensation whatever for its services, and the services rendered by labor are to be compensated according to the needs of the laborers.

The socialistic objection to the democratic doctrine of individual rights is its selfishness. To this it is not enough to reply that the selfishness of seeking one's own good consistently with that of his neighbors is in bright contrast with the reckless egoism which characterizes protectionist Socialism. The democratic doctrine of individual rights is selfish, but it is only half of the democratic program. Democracy quite as much as Absolutism or Socialism recognizes the promotion of the public good as the basis of individual rights and the measure of individual duties. In democracies, as nowhere else, is the spirit of devotion to the public good present, and in democracies as nowhere else are the contributions which the individual owes to the public measured by the principle of equality of sacrifice. It is true that there is at present no democracy where the principle is consistently carried out. In our own the necessities of the poor are taxed in order to increase the superfluities of the rich. But this is not democratic principle. Wherever democracy is strongest and Socialism weakest, as in the local governments of America and Switzerland, the duties of the individual to the public are sought to be proportioned to his means. The extent of the contribution of the individual to the public is measured by the need of the public just as exactly as in Socialism the extent of the contribution of the public to the individual is measured by the needs of the individual.

Democracy, when logical, recognizes the principle of brotherhood quite as much as Socialism, and with much greater accuracy of analogy. It strives to establish equality of opportunities, not equality of recompense. Napoleon once said that the French Revolution meant "*la carrière ouverte aux talents*"—a clear path-

way for talent. This is the meaning of democracy, and also the meaning of brotherhood. It strives continually to make the highest mental and moral training more accessible to all in order that each may find his capacity, and then win a place according to his efforts in the services of the public. This is also the meaning of Christianity. Wherever the church is thoroughly democratized, there its spiritual and intellectual ministrations are made free. In all this there is no departure from the principle of individual responsibility. The true charity is that which develops the higher needs of the recipient, not that which satisfies his lower needs. It elevates the manhood of the younger brother, instead of degrading him into a perpetual pensioner. Our democracy does have need to be more large-hearted. It must be moral or Christian enough to keep trying to lessen the contrast between the degrading want of those who have neither the training nor the character for self-support, and the enervating waste of those who, at the other end of society, are equally helpless and useless. Such publications as the Nationalist and the Dawn give evidence that such will be its spirit. But they do not signify that there will be any abandonment of the lines of development in the past in order to embrace the Socialistic system, which would annihilate individual responsibility and manhood by centering all rights and duties in the State. Democracy will accept the religion of altruism, but it will not enforce it as a State religion.

MARXIAN SOCIALISM

Communist Manifesto. Excerpts

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

Preface

The Manifesto was published as the platform of the Communist League, a workingmen's association, first exclusively German, later an international, and under the political conditions of the continent before 1848, unavoidably a secret society. At a congress of the league, held in London in November, 1847, Marx and Engels were commissioned to prepare for publication a complete theoretical and practical party-program. Drawn up in German, in January, 1848, the manuscript was sent to the printer in London a few weeks before the French revolution of February 24. A French translation was brought out in Paris, shortly before the insurrection of June, 1848. The first English translation, by Miss Helen Macfarlane, appeared in George Julian Harney's Red Republican, London, 1850. A Danish and a Polish edition had also been published.

The defeat of the Parisian insurrection of June, 1848—the first great battle between proletariat and *bourgeoisie*—drove again into the background, for a time, the social and political aspirations of the European working class. Thenceforth, the struggle for supremacy was again, as it had been before the revolution of February, solely between different sections of the propertied class; the working class was reduced to a fight for political elbow-room, and to the position of extreme wing of the middle-class Radicals. Wherever independent proletarian movements continued to show signs of life, they were ruthlessly hunted down. Thus the Prussian police hunted out the Central Board of the Communist League, then located in Cologne. The members were arrested, and, after eighteen months' imprisonment, they were tried in October, 1852. This celebrated Cologne Communist trial lasted from October 4 till November 12; seven of the prisoners were sentenced to terms of imprisonment in a fortress, varying from three to six years. Immediately

after the sentence the league was formally dissolved by the remaining members. As to the *Manifesto*, it seemed thenceforth to be doomed to oblivion.

When the European working class had recovered sufficient strength for another attack on the ruling classes, the International Working Men's Association sprang up. But this association, formed with the express aim of welding into one body the whole militant proletariat of Europe and America, could not at once proclaim the principles laid down in the *Manifesto*. The international was bound to have a program broad enough to be acceptable to the English trades' unions, to the followers of Proudhon in France, Belgium, Italy and Spain, and to the Lassalleans¹ in Germany. Marx, who drew up this program to the satisfaction of all parties, entirely trusted to the intellectual development of the working class, which was sure to result from combined action and mutual discussion. The very events and vicissitudes of the struggle against capital, the defeats even more than the victories, could not help bringing home to men's minds the insufficiency of their various favorite nostrums, and preparing the way for a more complete insight into the true conditions of working-class emancipation. And Marx was right. The International, on its breaking up in 1874, left the workers quite different men from what it had found them in 1864. Proudhonism in France, Lasallianism in Germany were dying out, and even the conservative English trades' unions, though most of them had long since severed their connection with the International, were gradually advancing towards that point at which, last year at Swansea, their president could say in their name, "Continental Socialism has lost its terrors for us." In fact, the principles of the "*Manifesto*" had made considerable headway among the working men of all countries.

The *Manifesto* itself thus came to the front again. The German text had been, since 1850, reprinted several times in Switzerland, England and America. In 1872, it was translated into English in New York, where the translation was published in Woodhull and Claflin's Weekly. From this English version, a French one was made in Le Socialiste of New York. Since then at least two more English translations, more or less muti-

¹ Lassalle personally, to us, always acknowledged himself to be a disciple of Marx, and, as such, stood on the ground of the *Manifesto*. But in his public agitation, 1860-64, he did not go beyond demanding cooperative workshops supported by state credit.

lated, have been brought out in America, and one of them has been reprinted in England. The first Russian translation, made by Bakounine, was published at Herzen's Kolokol office in Geneva, about 1863; a second one, by the heroic Vera Zasulitch, also in Geneva, 1882. A new Danish edition is to be found in "Socialdemokratisk Bibliothek," Copenhagen, 1885; a fresh French translation in *Le Socialiste*, Paris, 1886. From this latter a Spanish version was prepared and published in Madrid, 1886. The German reprints are not to be counted, there have been twelve altogether at the least. An Armenian translation, which was to be published in Constantinople some months ago, did not see the light, I am told, because the publisher was afraid of bringing out a book with the name of Marx on it, while the translator declined to call it his own production. Of further translations into other languages I have heard, but have not seen them. Thus the history of the Manifesto reflects, to a great extent, the history of the modern working-class movement; at present it is undoubtedly the most widespread, the most international production of all Socialist literature, the common platform acknowledged by millions of working men from Siberia to California.

Yet, when it was written, we could not have called it a Socialist manifesto. By Socialists, in 1847, were understood, on the one hand, the adherents of the various utopian systems: Owenites in England, Fourierists in France, both of them already reduced to the position of mere sects, and gradually dying out; on the other hand, the most multifarious social quacks, who, by all manners of tinkering, professed to redress, without any danger to capital and profit, all sorts of social grievances, in both cases men outside the working class movement, and looking rather to the "educated" classes for support. Whatever portion of the working class had become convinced of the insufficiency of mere political revolutions, and had proclaimed the necessity of a total social change, that portion, then, called itself Communist. It was a crude, rough-hewn, purely instinctive sort of Communism; still, it touched the cardinal point and was powerful enough amongst the working class to produce the Utopian Communism, in France, of Cabet, and in Germany of Weitling. Thus Socialism was, in 1847, a middle-class movement, Communism a working class movement. Socialism was, on the continent at least, "respectable"; Communism was the very opposite.

And as our notion, from the very beginning, was that "the emancipation of the working class must be the act of the working class itself," there could be no doubt as to which of the two names we must take. Moreover, we have, ever since, been far from repudiating it.

The Manifesto being our joint production, I consider myself bound to state that the fundamental proposition which forms its nucleus, belongs to Marx. That proposition is: that in every historical epoch, the prevailing mode of economic production and exchange, and the social organization necessarily following from it, form the basis upon which is built up, and from which alone can be explained, the political and intellectual history of that epoch; that consequently the whole history of mankind (since the dissolution of primitive tribal society, holding land in common ownership) has been a history of class struggles, contests between exploiting and exploited, ruling and oppressed classes; that the history of these class struggles forms a series of evolutions in which, nowadays, a stage has been reached where the exploited and oppressed class—the proletariat—cannot attain its emancipation from the sway of the exploiting and ruling class—the *bourgeoisie*—without, at the same time, and once and for all, emancipating society at large from all exploitation, oppression, class-distinctions and class struggles.

This proposition which, in my opinion, is destined to do for history what Darwin's theory has done for biology, we, both of us, had been gradually approaching for some years before 1845. How far I had independently progressed towards it, is best shown by my "Condition of the Working Class in England."¹ But when I again met Marx at Brussels, in spring, 1845, he had it ready worked out, and put it before me, in terms almost as clear as those in which I have stated it here.

From our joint preface to the German edition of 1872, I quote the following:

"However much the state of things may have altered during the last twenty-five years, the general principles laid down in this Manifesto, are, on the whole, as correct today as ever. Here and there some detail might be improved. The practical application of the principles will depend, as the Manifesto itself states, everywhere and at all times, on the historical conditions

¹ "The Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844." By Frederick Engels. Translated by Florence K. Wischnewetzky. London, Swan, Sonnenschein & Co.

for the time being existing, and, for that reason, no special stress is laid on the revolutionary measures proposed at the end of Section II. That passage would, in many respects, be very differently worded today. In view of the gigantic strides of modern industry since 1848, and of the accompanying improved and extended organization of the working-class, in view of the practical experience gained, first in the February revolution, and then, still more, in the Paris Commune, where the proletariat for the first time held political power for two whole months, this program has in some details become antiquated. One thing especially was proved by the Commune, viz., that 'the working-class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made State machinery, and wield it for its own purposes.' (See 'The Civil War in France; Address of the General Council of the International Working-men's Association,' Chicago, Charles H. Kerr & Co., where this point is further developed). Further, it is self-evident, that the criticism of Socialist literature is deficient in relation to the present time, because it comes down only to 1847; also, that the remarks on the relation of the Communists to the various opposition-parties (Section IV), although in principle still correct, yet in practice are antiquated, because the political situation has been entirely changed, and the progress of history has swept from off the earth the greater portion of the political parties there enumerated.

"But then, the Manifesto has become a historical document which we have no longer any right to alter."

FREDERICK ENGELS.

London, January 30, 1888.

Manifesto

A spectre is haunting Europe—the spectre of Communism. All the powers of old Europe have entered into a holy alliance to exorcise this spectre; Pope and Czar, Metternich and Guizot, French Radicals and German police-spies.

Where is the party in opposition that has not been decried as communistic by its opponents in power? Where the Opposition that has not hurled back the branding reproach of Communism, against the more advanced opposition parties, as well as against its reactionary adversaries?

Two things result from this fact.

I. Communism is already acknowledged by all European Powers to be itself a Power.

II. It is high time that Communists should openly, in the face of the whole world, publish their views, their aims, their tendencies, and meet this nursery tale of the Spectre of Communism with a Manifesto of the party itself.

To this end, Communists of various nationalities have assembled in London, and sketched the following manifesto, to be published in the English, French, German, Italian, Flemish and Danish languages.

I. BOURGEOIS AND PROLETARIANS¹

The history of all hitherto existing society² is the history of class struggles.

Freeman and slave, patrician and plebeian, lord and serf, guild-master³ and journeyman, in a word, oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on an uninterrupted, now hidden, now open fight, a fight that each time ended, either in a revolutionary re-constitution of society at large, or in the common ruin of the contending classes.

In the earlier epochs of history, we find almost everywhere a complicated arrangement of society into various orders, a manifold graduation of social rank. In ancient Rome we have patricians, knights, plebeians, slaves; in the middle ages, feudal lords, vassals, guild-masters, journeymen, apprentices, serfs; in almost all of these classes, again, subordinate gradations.

The modern bourgeois society that has sprouted from the ruins of feudal society, has not done away with class antagon-

¹ By *bourgeoisie* is meant the class of modern capitalists, owners of the means of social production and employers of wage-labor. By proletariat, the class of modern wage-laborers who, having no means of production of their own, are reduced to selling their labor-power in order to live.

² That is, all written history. In 1847, the pre-history of society, the social organization existing previous to recorded history, was all but unknown. Since then, Haxthausen discovered common ownership of land in Russia, Maurer proved it to be the social foundation from which all Teutonic races started in history, and by and by village communities were found to be, or to have been, the primitive form of society everywhere from India to Ireland. The inner organization of this primitive Communistic society was laid bare, in its typical form, by Morgan's crowning discovery of the true nature of the gens and its relation to the tribe. With the dissolution of these primeval communities society begins to be differentiated into separate and finally antagonistic classes. I have attempted to retrace this process of dissolution in "The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State." (Chicago, Charles H. Kerr & Co.)

³ Guild-master, that is a full member of a guild, a master within, not a head of, a guild.

isms. It has but established new classes, new conditions of oppression, new forms of struggle in place of the old ones.

Our epoch, the epoch of the *bourgeoisie*, possesses, however, this distinctive feature; it has simplified the class antagonisms. Society as a whole is more and more splitting up into two great hostile camps, into two great classes directly facing each other: *Bourgeoisie* and Proletariat.

From the serfs of the middle ages sprang the chartered burghers of the earliest towns. From these burgesses the first elements of the *bourgeoisie* were developed.

The discovery of America, the rounding of the Cape, opened up fresh ground for the rising *bourgeoisie*. The East-Indian and Chinese markets, the colonization of America, trade with the colonies, the increase in the means of exchange and in commodities generally, gave to commerce, to navigation, to industry, an impulse never before known, and thereby, to the revolutionary element in the tottering feudal society, a rapid development.

The feudal system of industry, under which industrial production was monopolized by close guilds, now no longer sufficed for the growing wants of the new markets. The manufacturing system took its place. The guild-masters were pushed on one side by the manufacturing middle-class; division of labor between the different corporate guilds vanished in the face of division of labor in each single workshop.

Meantime the markets kept ever growing, the demand, ever rising. Even manufacture no longer sufficed. Thereupon, steam and machinery revolutionized industrial production. The place of manufacture was taken by the giant, Modern Industry, the place of the industrial middle-class, by industrial millionaires, the leaders of whole industrial armies, the modern bourgeois.

Modern industry has established the world-market, for which the discovery of America paved the way. This market has given an immense development to commerce, to navigation, to communication by land. This development has, in its turn, reacted on the extension of industry; and in proportion as industry, commerce, navigation, railways extended, in the same proportion the *bourgeoisie* developed, increased its capital, and pushed into the background every class handed down from the Middle Ages.

We see, therefore, how the modern *bourgeoisie* is itself the product of a long course of development, of a series of revolutions in the modes of production and of exchange.

Each step in the development of the *bourgeoisie* was accompanied by a corresponding political advance of that class. An oppressed class under the sway of the feudal nobility, an armed and self-governing association in the mediæval commune,¹ here independent urban republic (as in Italy and Germany), there taxable "third estate" of the monarchy (as in France), afterwards, in the period of manufacture proper, serving either the semi-feudal or the absolute monarchy as a counterpoise against the nobility, and, in fact, corner stone of the great monarchies in general, the *bourgeoisie* has at last, since the establishment of Modern Industry and of the world-market, conquered for itself, in the modern representative State, exclusive political sway. The executive of the modern State is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole *bourgeoisie*.

The *bourgeoisie*, historically, has played a most revolutionary part.

The *bourgeoisie*, wherever it has got the upper hand, has put an end to all feudal, patriarchal, idyllic relations. It has pitilessly torn asunder the motley feudal ties that bound man to his "natural superiors," and has left remaining no other nexus between man and man than naked self-interest, than callous "cash payment." It has drowned the most heavenly ecstasies of religious fervor, of chivalrous enthusiasm, of philistine sentimentalism, in the icy water of egotistical calculation. It has resolved personal worth into exchange value, and in place of the numberless indefeasible chartered freedoms, has set up that single, unconscionable freedom—Free Trade. In one word, for exploitation, veiled by religious and political illusions, it has substituted naked, shameless, direct, brutal exploitation.

The *bourgeoisie* has stripped of its halo every occupation hitherto honored and looked up to with reverent awe. It has converted the physician, the lawyer, the priest, the poet, the man of science, into its paid wage-laborers.

The *bourgeoisie* has torn away from the family its sentimental veil, and has reduced the family relation to a mere money relation.

The *bourgeoisie* has disclosed how it came to pass that the

¹ "Commune" was the name taken, in France, by the nascent towns even before they had conquered from their feudal lords and masters, local self-government and political rights as "the Third Estate." Generally speaking, for the economical development of the *bourgeoisie*, England is here taken as the typical country, for its political development, France.

brutal display of vigor in the Middle Ages, which Reactionists so much admire, found its fitting complement in the most slothful indolence. It has been the first to show what man's activity can bring about. It has accomplished wonders far surpassing Egyptian pyramids, Roman aqueducts, and Gothic cathedrals; it has conducted expeditions that put in the shade all former Exodus of nations and crusades.

The *bourgeoisie* cannot exist without constantly revolutionizing the instruments of production, and thereby the relations of production, and with them the whole relations of society. Conservation of the old modes of production in unaltered form, was, on the contrary, the first condition of existence for all earlier industrial classes. Constant revolutionizing of production, uninterrupted disturbance of all social conditions, everlasting uncertainty and agitation distinguish the bourgeois epoch from all earlier ones. All fixed, fast-frozen relations, with their train of ancient and venerable prejudices and opinions, are swept away, all new-formed ones become antiquated before they can ossify. All that is solid melts into air, all that is holy is profaned, and man is at last compelled to face with sober senses, his real conditions of life, and his relations with his kind.

The need of a constantly expanding market for its products chases the *bourgeoisie* over the whole surface of the globe. It must nestle everywhere, settle everywhere, establish connections everywhere.

The *bourgeoisie* has through its exploitation of the world-market given a cosmopolitan character to production and consumption in every country. To the great chagrin of Reactionists, it has drawn from under the feet of industry the national ground on which it stood. All old-established national industries have been destroyed or are daily being destroyed. They are dislodged by new industries, whose introduction becomes a life and death question for all civilized nations, by industries that no longer work up indigenous raw material, but raw material drawn from the remotest zones; industries whose products are consumed, not only at home, but in every quarter of the globe. In place of the old wants, satisfied by the productions of the country, we find new wants, requiring for their satisfaction the products of distant lands and climes. In place of the old local and national seclusion and self-sufficiency, we have intercourse in every direction, universal inter-dependence of nations. And

as in material, so also in intellectual production. The intellectual creations of individual nations become common property. National one-sidedness and narrow-mindedness become more and more impossible, and from the numerous national and local literatures there arises a world-literature.

The *bourgeoisie*, by the rapid improvement of all instruments of production, by the immensely facilitated means of communication, draws all, even the most barbarian, nations into civilization. The cheap prices of its commodities are the heavy artillery with which it batters down all Chinese walls, with which it forces the barbarians' intensely obstinate hatred of foreigners to capitulate. It compels all nations, on pain of extinction, to adopt the bourgeois mode of production; it compels them to introduce what it calls civilization into their midst, i. e., to become bourgeois themselves. In a word, it creates a world after its own image.

The *bourgeoisie* has subjected the country to the rule of the towns. It has created enormous cities, has greatly increased the urban population as compared with the rural, and has thus rescued a considerable part of the population from the idiocy of rural life. Just as it has made the country dependent on the towns, so it has made barbarian and semi-barbarian countries dependent on the civilized ones, nations of peasants on nations of bourgeois, the East on the West.

The *bourgeoisie* keeps more and more doing away with the scattered state of the population, of the means of production, and of property. It has agglomerated population, centralized means of production, and has concentrated property in a few hands. The necessary consequence of this was political centralization. Independent, or but loosely connected provinces, with separate interests, laws, governments and systems of taxation, became lumped together in one nation, with one government, one code of laws, one national class-interest, one frontier and one customs-tariff.

The *bourgeoisie*, during its rule of scarce one hundred years, has created more massive and more colossal productive forces than have all preceding generations together. Subjection of Nature's forces to man, machinery, application of chemistry to industry and agriculture, steam-navigation, railways, electric telegraphs, clearing of whole continents for cultivation, canalization of rivers, whole populations conjured out of the ground

—what earlier century had even a presentiment that such productive forces slumbered in the lap of social labor?

We see then: the means of production and of exchange on whose foundation the *bourgeoisie* built itself up, were generated in feudal society. At a certain stage in the development of these means of production and of exchange, the conditions under which feudal society produced and exchanged, the feudal organization of agriculture and manufacturing industry, in one word, the feudal relations of property became no longer compatible with the already developed productive forces; they became so many fetters. They had to burst asunder; they were burst asunder.

Into their places stepped free competition, accompanied by a social and political constitution adapted to it, and by the economical and political sway of the bourgeois class.

A similar movement is going on before our own eyes. Modern bourgeois society with its relations of production, of exchange and of property, a society that has conjured up such gigantic means of production and of exchange, is like the sorcerer, who is no longer able to control the powers of the nether world whom he has called up by his spells. For many a decade past the history of industry and commerce is but the history of the revolt of modern productive forces against modern conditions of production, against the property relations that are the conditions for the existence of the *bourgeoisie* and of its rule. It is enough to mention the commercial crises that by their periodical return put on its trial, each time more threateningly, the existence of the entire bourgeois society. In these crises a great part not only of the existing products, but also of the previously created productive forces, are periodically destroyed. In these crises there breaks out an epidemic that, in all earlier epochs, would have seemed an absurdity—the epidemic of over-production. Society suddenly finds itself put back into a state of momentary barbarism; it appears as if a famine, a universal war of devastation had cut off the supply of every means of subsistence; industry and commerce seem to be destroyed; and why. Because there is too much civilization, too much means of subsistence, too much industry, too much commerce. The productive forces at the disposal of society no longer tend to further the development of the conditions of bourgeois property; on the contrary, they have become too

powerful for these conditions, by which they are fettered, and so soon as they overcome these fetters, they bring disorder into the whole of bourgeois society, endanger the existence of bourgeois property. The conditions of bourgeois society are too narrow to comprise the wealth created by them. And how does the *bourgeoisie* get over these crises? On the one hand by enforced destruction of a mass of productive forces; on the other, by the conquest of new markets, and by the more thorough exploitation of the old ones. That is to say, by paving the way for more extensive and more destructive crises, and by diminishing the means whereby crises are prevented.

The weapons with which the *bourgeoisie* felled feudalism to the ground are now turned against the *bourgeoisie* itself.

But not only has the *bourgeoisie* forged the weapons that bring death to itself; it has also called into existence the men who are to wield those weapons—the modern working-class—the proletarians.

In proportion as the *bourgeoisie*, i. e. capital, is developed, in the same proportion is the proletariat, the modern working-class, developed, a class of laborers, who live only so long as they find work, and who find work only so long as their labor increases capital. These laborers, who must sell themselves piecemeal, are a commodity, like every other article of commerce, and are consequently exposed to all the vicissitudes of competition, to all the fluctuations of the market.

Owing to the extensive use of machinery and to division of labor, the work of the proletarians has lost all individual character, and, consequently, all charm for the workman. He becomes an appendage of the machine, and it is only the most simple, most monotonous, and most easily acquired knack that is required of him. Hence, the cost of production of a workman is restricted, almost entirely, to the means of subsistence that he requires for his maintenance, and for the propagation of his race. But the price of a commodity, and also of labor, is equal to its cost of production. In proportion, therefore, as the repulsiveness of the work increases, the wage decreases. Nay more, in proportion as the use of machinery and division of labor increases, in the same proportion the burden of toil also increases, whether by prolongation of the working hours, by increase of the work exacted in a given time, or by increased speed of the machinery, etc.

Modern industry has converted the little workshop of the

patriarchal master into the great factory of the industrial capitalist. Masses of laborers, crowded into the factory, are organized like soldiers. As privates of the industrial army they are placed under the command of a perfect hierarchy of officers and sergeants. Not only are they the slaves of the bourgeois class, and of the bourgeois State, they are daily and hourly enslaved by the machine, by the over-looker, and, above all, by the individual bourgeois manufacturer himself. The more openly this despotism proclaims gain to be its end and aim, the more petty, the more hateful and the more embittering it is.

The less the skill and exertion or strength implied in manual labor, in other words, the more modern industry becomes developed, the more is the labor of men superseded by that of women. Differences of age and sex have no longer any distinctive social validity for the working class. All are instruments of labor, more or less expensive to use, according to their age and sex.

No sooner is the exploitation of the laborer by the manufacturer, so far at an end, that he receives his wages in cash, than he is set upon by the other portions of the *bourgeoisie*, the landlord, the shopkeeper, the pawnbroker, etc.

The lower strata of the middle class—the small tradespeople, shopkeepers, and retired tradesmen generally, the handicraftsmen and peasants—all these sink gradually into the proletariat, partly because their diminutive capital does not suffice for the scale on which Modern Industry is carried on, and is swamped in the competition with the large capitalists, partly because their specialized skill is rendered worthless by new methods of production. Thus the proletariat is recruited from all classes of the population.

The proletariat goes through various stages of development. With its birth begins its struggle with the bourgeoisie. At first the contest is carried on by individual laborers, then by the workpeople of a factory, then by the operatives of one trade, in one locality, against the individual bourgeois who directly exploits them. They direct their attacks not against the bourgeois conditions of production, but against the instruments of production themselves; they destroy imported wares that compete with their labor, they smash to pieces machinery, they set factories ablaze, they seek to restore by force the vanished status of the workman of the middle ages.

At this stage the laborers still form an incoherent mass

scattered over the whole country, and broken up by their mutual competition. If anywhere they unite to form more compact bodies, this is not yet the consequence of their own active union, but of the union of the *bourgeoisie*, which class, in order to attain its own political ends, is compelled to set the whole proletariat in motion, and is moreover yet, for a time, able to do so. At this stage, therefore, the proletarians do not fight their enemies, but the enemies of their enemies, the remnants of absolute monarchy, the landowners, the non-industrial bourgeois, the petty *bourgeoisie*. Thus the whole historical movement is concentrated in the hands of the *bourgeoisie*; every victory so obtained is a victory for the *bourgeoisie*.

But with the development of industry the proletariat not only increases in number, it becomes concentrated in greater masses, its strength grows, and it feels that strength more. The various interests and conditions of life within the ranks of the proletariat are more and more equalized, in proportion as machinery obliterates all distinctions of labor, and nearly everywhere reduces wages to the same low level. The growing competition among the bourgeois, and the resulting commercial crises, make the wages of the workers ever more fluctuating. The unceasing improvement of machinery, ever more rapidly developing, makes their livelihood more and more precarious; the collisions between individual workmen and individual bourgeois take more and more the character of collisions between two classes. Thereupon the workers begin to form combinations (Trades' Unions) against the bourgeois; they club together in order to keep up the rate of wages; they found permanent associations in order to make provision beforehand for these occasional revolts. Here and there the contest breaks out into riots.

Now and then the workers are victorious, but only for a time. The real fruit of their battles lies, not in the immediate result, but in the ever expanding union of the workers. This union is helped on by the improved means of communication that are created by modern industry, and that place the workers of different localities in contact with one another. It was just this contact that was needed to centralize the numerous local struggles, all of the same character, into one national struggle between classes. But every class struggle is a political struggle. And that union, to attain which the burghers of the Middle Ages, with their miserable highways, required centuries,

the modern proletarians, thanks to railways, achieve in a few years.

This organization of the proletarians into a class, and consequently into a political party, is continually being upset again by the competition between the workers themselves. But it ever rises up again, stronger, firmer, mightier. It compels legislative recognition of particular interests of the workers, by taking advantage of the division among the *bourgeoisie* itself. Thus the ten-hour bill in England was carried.

Altogether collisions between the classes of the old society further, in many ways, the course of development of the proletariat. The *bourgeoisie* finds itself involved in a constant battle. At first with the aristocracy; later on, with those portions of the *bourgeoisie* itself, whose interests have become antagonistic to the progress of industry; at all times, with the *bourgeoisie* of foreign countries. In all these battles it sees itself compelled to appeal to the proletariat, to ask for its help, and thus, to drag it into the political arena. The *bourgeoisie* itself, therefore, supplies the proletariat with its own elements of political and general education, in other words, it furnishes the proletariat with weapons for fighting the *bourgeoisie*.

Further, as we have already seen, entire sections of the ruling classes are, by the advance of industry, precipitated into the proletariat, or are at least threatened in their conditions of existence. These also supply the proletariat with fresh elements of enlightenment and progress.

Finally, in times when the class-struggle nears the decisive hour, the process of dissolution going on within the ruling class, in fact, within the whole range of old society, assumes such a violent, glaring character, that a small section of the ruling class cuts itself adrift, and joins the revolutionary class, the class that holds the future in its hands. Just as, therefore, at an earlier period, a section of the nobility went over to the *bourgeoisie*, so now a portion of the *bourgeoisie* goes over to the proletariat, and in particular, a portion of the bourgeois ideologists, who have raised themselves to the level of comprehending theoretically the historical movements as a whole.

Of all the classes that stand face to face with the *bourgeoisie* today, the proletariat alone is a really revolutionary class. The other classes decay and finally disappear in the face of modern industry; the proletariat is its special and essential product.

The lower middle-class, the small manufacturer, the shop-keeper, the artisan, the peasant, all these fight against the *bourgeoisie*, to save from extinction their existence as fractions of the middle class. They are, therefore, not revolutionary, but conservative. Nay more, they are reactionary, for they try to roll back the wheel of history. If by chance they are revolutionary, they are so only in view of their impending transfer into the proletariat, they thus defend not their present, but their future interests, they desert their own standpoint to place themselves at that of the proletariat.

The "dangerous class," the social scum, that passively rotting mass thrown off by the lowest layers of old society, may, here and there, be swept into the movement by a proletarian revolution; its conditions of life, however, prepare it far more for the part of a bribed tool of reactionary intrigue.

In the conditions of the proletariat, those of old society at large are already virtually swamped. The proletarian is without property; his relation to his wife and children has no longer anything in common with the bourgeois family relations; modern industrial labor, modern subjection to capital, the same in England as in France, in America as in Germany, has stripped him of every trace of national character. Law, morality, religion, are to him so many bourgeois prejudices, behind which lurk in ambush just as many bourgeois interests.

All the preceding classes that got the upper hand, sought to fortify their already acquired status by subjecting society at large to their conditions of appropriation. The proletarians cannot become masters of the productive forces of society, except by abolishing their own previous mode of appropriation, and thereby also every other previous mode of appropriation. They have nothing of their own to secure and to fortify; their mission is to destroy all previous securities for, and insurances of, individual property.

All previous historical movements were movements of minorities, or in the interest of minorities. The proletarian movement is the self-conscious, independent movement of the immense majority, in the interest of the immense majority. The proletariat, the lowest stratum of our present society, cannot stir, cannot raise itself up, without the whole superincumbent strata of official society being sprung into the air.

Though not in substance, yet in form, the struggle of the

proletariat with the *bourgeoisie* is at first a national struggle. The proletariat of each country must, of course, first of all settle matters with its own *bourgeoisie*.

In depicting the most general phases of the development of the proletariat, we traced the more or less veiled civil war, raging within existing society, up to the point where that war breaks out into open revolution, and where the violent overthrow of the *bourgeoisie*, lays the foundation for the sway of the proletariat.

Hitherto, every form of society has been based, as we have already seen, on the antagonism of oppressing and oppressed classes. But in order to oppress a class, certain conditions must be assured to it under which it can, at least, continue its slavish existence. The serf, in the period of serfdom, raised himself to membership in the commune, just as the petty bourgeois, under the yoke of feudal absolutism, managed to develop into a bourgeois. The modern laborer, on the contrary, instead of rising with the progress of industry, sinks deeper and deeper below the conditions of existence of his own class. He becomes a pauper, and pauperism develops more rapidly than population and wealth. And here it becomes evident, that the *bourgeoisie* is unfit any longer to be the ruling class in society, and to impose its conditions of existence upon society as an over-riding law. It is unfit to rule, because it is incompetent to assure an existence to its slave within his slavery, because it cannot help letting him sink into such a state that it has to feed him, instead of being fed by him. Society can no longer live under this *bourgeoisie*, in other words, its existence is no longer compatible with society.

The essential condition for the existence, and for the sway of the bourgeois class, is the formation and augmentation of capital; the condition for capital is wage-labor. Wage-labor rests exclusively on competition between the laborers. The advance of industry, whose involuntary promoter is the *bourgeoisie*, replaces the isolation of the laborers, due to competition, by their involuntary combination, due to association. The development of Modern Industry, therefore, cuts from under its feet the very foundation on which the *bourgeoisie* produces and appropriates products. What the *bourgeoisie* therefore produces, above all, are its own grave-diggers. Its fall and the victory of the proletariat are equally inevitable.

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Influence of Karl Marx on Contemporary Socialism. John Spargo

For many years the words "Socialism" and "Marxism" have been practically synonymous. There could be no ampler proof of the greatness of Karl Marx than this simple fact. Over a large part of the old world today Socialism is the dominant political issue, and in the parliamentary bodies of several nations its leaders are conspicuous for their ability no less than for their earnestness, devotion, and courage. Throughout the world the movement has a voting strength of nearly ten millions, representing, probably, at least five times as many human beings.

It would be idle to deny that great and important differences exist among those who call themselves Socialists. However much they may have in common, it is obvious that M. Jaurés, the eloquent and scholarly French Socialist, and Mr. Hyndman, the equally eloquent and scholarly English Socialist, hold very different views concerning the program essential to the attainment of the Socialist goal, if not as to the goal itself.

Both these men are pure "intellectuals." Although they are great leaders in a proletarian movement, neither of them has had to experience the proletarian struggle. But if we take Socialists who are equally typical proletarians we shall find exactly the same divergence of thought and method. Keir Hardie, the British Socialist, and Eugene V. Debs, the American Socialist, both belong to this class. Each came to the Socialist movement through his trade-union experience. Yet, despite the apparent similarity of their evolution as socialists, the two leaders represent opposing poles of socialist policy and thought.

Such obvious facts as these have caused many critics, sympathetic and otherwise, to attempt a classification of Socialists. Even within the movement itself, crude efforts are made in this direction. The Socialist press teems with references to arbitrarily arranged groupings, indicated by such terms as "impossibilists," "opportunist," "intellectuals," "proletarians," and so on. Such groupings have some value in that they describe, however vaguely, some characteristics which roughly differentiate various phases of contemporary Socialism. Their arbitrary character should not be forgotten, however, for a single moment. He who trusts them too completely will be utterly misled. The "opportunist" of today may tomorrow be found taking a position

that places him among the "impossibilists," and the most vociferous attack upon the "intellectuals" is likely to come from an intellectual, much to the amusement of the proletarians in the movement.

It is quite remarkable that practically all Socialists, whether they be opportunists or impossibilists, proletarians or intellectuals, or even anti-intellectuals, claim to be "Marxists." The English Socialist who works with the trade unionist, through the Labor party, claims to be a pure Marxist. The same claim is made by the impatient "syndicalist" of the Latin countries, with his faith in the mass strike and his ill-concealed disdain for parliamentary action. In practically all Socialist factional discussions Marx is the prophet of all the factions.

This identity of Marxism and Socialism has long been recognized as one of the most striking facts in the whole range of Socialist phenomena. Recently, however, there has been much talk of the waning influence of Marx upon contemporary Socialist thought and action. We have been assured, both from within and without the Socialist ranks, that the teachings of Marx are going out of fashion, being rapidly and more or less openly abandoned. One lady has, indeed, written a book about "The New Socialism," assuring us that "Marx called up a swathed and terrifying figure, in which the world sees the dread specter of revolution," whereas the "new" Socialists are devoting themselves to the task of stripping away the disguise, and unveiling "the kindly features of a radical and comprehensive social reform."

The New York chapter of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society has announced as one of its study topics the question, "Are the teachings of Karl Marx being abandoned by present-day Socialists?" and it is to that question I desire to address myself here.

As a biographer of Marx, it has been my special task, during more than a dozen years, to try to understand the man. It has become my habit to view the developments of the Socialist movement throughout the world from what I believe to be his point of view; to interpret his writing by what I know of his life; to bring all that I know of his life and his intimate conversation and correspondence with friends to my aid in studying his formally stated theories as they appear on the printed page. Whatever disadvantages such methods may have are more than outweighed, in my judgment, by the numerous and obvious advantages.

As to the question itself, I feel strongly that neither an unqualified negative nor an unqualified affirmative reply is possible. My belief is that the Socialist movement of the present day is both breaking away from and drawing closer to the teachings of the great German revolutionist. Recent criticism has compelled all thoughtful and sincere Socialists to admit some defects in the Marxian theory, and to recognize the necessity of a readjustment of their theoretical position, and of their policies so far as they have rested upon the mistaken theoretical premises. But, for all that, the unmistakable tendency of present-day Socialism is toward a closer adherence to the essential and fundamental teachings of Marx, not away from them. Paradoxical as this statement may seem, a careful and candid study of the life of Marx in connection with recent developments in the international Socialist movement will reveal its truth.

"As for me, I am no 'Marxist,' I am glad to say," was a saying frequent upon the lips of Marx. With the words went that half-sneering expression with which his best portraits have made us familiar. If we can fathom the meaning of the cryptic and paradoxical utterance, it may assist us very materially in our attempt to find a satisfactory answer to our question. Who, then, were the "Marxists" thus scornfully repudiated by Marx, and what were the reasons for the repudiation?

During his lifetime, as now, there were many disciples of Marx who regarded his theoretical work as being his greatest achievement, and his most important contribution to the cause of the proletariat. He was to them primarily a political economist. They spoke of his great work, "Das Kapital," as the "Bible of the proletariat," and as a Bible they regarded it. With a passion which can only be adequately described as religious, tens of thousands of working-men laboriously read and studied that difficult work. It was to them an "impregnable rock of Holy Scripture." Those who could not comprehend the work as a whole satisfied themselves with a few memorized passages. Like all Bibles, it became a book of texts, much quoted but little read.

Naturally, those who regarded the book as a Bible made it the basis of a creed. Naturally, also, their creed became the basis of a sect. Doctrinal tests decided the fitness or unfitness of men and women to enter the Socialist fellowship and to be reckoned with the elect. Just as religious sectarianism based upon creedal and doctrinal tests has barred many a rare and beautiful religious

spirit from the church, while it placed the word "orthodox" as a stamp of approval upon many an unworthy and irreligious spirit, so this sectarian "Marxism" imposed its stamp of "orthodox" and "unorthodox" to determine the fitness or unfitness of men and women to be called Socialists. Many who believed in the whole program of Socialism, who saw the necessity of a working-class political party to bring about the realization of that program, and were willing to work with and through such a party for the immediate interests of the working class, and, ultimately, the collective ownership of the social productive forces, were denied the right to call themselves Socialists, and a place in the Socialist ranks, simply because they could not subscribe to all the economic and philosophical teachings of Marx.

In every country Socialism has had to outgrow this dogmatism and sectarianism before attaining political importance. In almost every country the movement had its inception in a theoretical propaganda. A few earnest souls devoted themselves to the task of studying the works of a Fourier or a Marx and getting others to study them. To fully understand the master's teachings naturally became the chief ambition of such disciples. To the average person, the zeal and devotion of such men and women is incomprehensible. I have known a working man, of scant education, to walk a distance of ten miles every Sunday morning for years, no matter what the weather, to study with a fellow Socialist the first volume of "Das Kapital." After seven or eight hours of labored study, the patient student would undertake the homeward journey of ten miles supremely happy if he had mastered a single new passage.

Of course, his joy was due to something other than mere intellectual satisfaction and triumph. It rested upon a much nobler passion than that. Mastery of the difficult and abstract text was not an end in itself, but a means to an end of great grandeur. Only through a knowledge of Marx could the proletariat ever be saved. The psychology of this attitude is not difficult to understand. It is precisely that of theological sectarianism: Marx is the only true prophet, his book the one and only true gospel, and every question is to be decided by an appeal to its text.

It is almost unnecessary to say that Karl Marx was too great and wise a man not to recognize the folly of the attitude here indicated, and the positive perils to the movement which it involved. He certainly did not deny the importance of correct

thinking, or underrate it. On the contrary, he was apt to expect and demand too much in the way of theoretical knowledge from those engaged in the social movement. But he knew that the great mass of the workers could never be expected to fully understand such philosophical doctrines as the materialistic conception of history, or theories of political economy such as surplus value. He was not foolish enough to believe that a great movement could be founded upon a correct understanding of such subtle and difficult theories. At most he believed that the movement could be guided by such knowledge. In other words, while he expected and desired that the leaders of the movement should possess a thorough theoretical training, he did not expect anything of the kind from the rank and file.

When his overzealous and impatient disciples sought to push the importance of theoretical training beyond this limit, and to insist upon making the acceptance and understanding of his theories a test of membership, Marx was impatient. It was in such moods that he expressed his gratitude that he was not a "Marxist."

There was another reason for the cryptic and paradoxical epigram. Like all great thinkers upon whose work a definite school of thought has been founded, Marx has suffered greatly at the hands of his own followers, through their wild exaggeration of his theories. The prayer of his heart might well have been: "Save me from my friends—I can take care of my enemies myself!"

The case of Ricardo, the great English economist, may be pertinently cited as a well known example of the discredit which intellectual leaders incur as a result of the unwise zeal of their followers. Ricardo took for his theme the law of wages and concluded that wages, as a rule, *tended* to approximate the cost of maintaining a given standard of living at a given time and place. Ricardo surrounded this statement with numerous qualifications, setting forth a generalization of great importance. But Ricardo's followers, more "Ricardian" than Ricardo himself, ignored all the qualifications and stated the theory in a grotesquely exaggerated manner, which found its complete expression in Lassalle's inflexible "iron law of wages." A great and profoundly true generalization of the master became, in the hands of his disciples, a grotesque and dangerous error.

In like manner, Marx suffered from his more Marxian than

Marx followers. For example: in one of the earliest of his Socialist writings, the "Communist Manifesto," he developed his famous class-struggle theory and emphasized the historic role of the proletariat. If the workers are ever to be emancipated, he declared, it must be through their own efforts. Here was a great generalization of tremendous importance, the basis for a working-class movement. But some of his followers, disregarding his abundant warnings, made this generalization the basis of another, which, if generally accepted, would have robbed the working-class movement of the service of many of the finest intellects and devoted consciences ever enlisted in its support, including that of Marx himself. Their reasoning was very simple and naïve: Because the emancipation of the proletariat must be the work of the proletariat itself, it follows that no one who is not actually a proletarian can loyally desire to serve the movement for proletarian emancipation. Determined efforts were made by some "Marxists" to exclude Marx himself from the movement upon these grounds!

One other example of the exaggeration of his theories of which Marx was the victim must suffice, though the number of such illustrations might be indefinitely extended. The materialistic conception of history, a doctrine of the highest philosophical and sociological importance, is perhaps the greatest of the intellectual achievements of Marx. The gist of this theory is that the principal factor in social evolution is the economic one, the method of producing and distributing wealth. This has become nowadays a commonplace, but it was a revolutionary idea when Marx first proclaimed it.

Now, Marx never dreamed of asserting that the economic force acts as the sole determinant of social evolution. In order to focus the attention of the thinkers of his time upon his theory, and in meeting the attacks of opponents, he, quite naturally, at times overemphasized this one factor. Yet he did not fail to warn his disciples against falling into the error of regarding the economic factor as the only active influence in social evolution. His followers, many of them, disregarded these warnings and carried the tendency to exaggerate which Marx himself manifested to the most absurd length. In their hands the theory became one of simple economic fatalism and predestination. According to their caricature of the theory, no other factors have influenced the rate or direction of the evolution of society;

race, religion, patriotism, ideals of all kinds have been meaningless.

This economic fatalism has been carried to the most absurd lengths, especially in America. In the name of Marx the preposterous claim has been set up that, because men in general are prone to act, consciously or unconsciously, in accordance with their material interests, there must be an ascertainable economic motive for every act of an individual; that if one whose material interests are such as to identify him with the capitalist class, the exploiters, enters the movement of the working-class, the exploited, the sincerity of his action must be denied, and a secret, hidden, ulterior motive suspected! In actual experience this grotesquely stupid conception of Marx's great generalization has wrought great mischief in the Socialist movement.

These two sets of his disciples—those who regarded him as a pope, at least, and sought to make an orthodox creed of his theories, and those whose crude and wild statements of the most profound truths transformed them into nightmares of error—were the "Marxists" against whom Marx so often directed his withering satire. Marx chafed and groaned in spirit when such followers as those comprised in the two groups we have considered reduced his important philosophical and economic principles to a jumble of meaningless absurdity. And, with that fine loyalty which marked his whole life, Friedrich Engels carried on the warfare against such "Marxists" long after the death of his friend and associate.

Fortunately, the last ten years have been marked by an ever-increasing reaction against both types of "Marxism." It is notably rare nowadays for the stupid anti-intellectualist cry to receive serious attention. The movement itself, in practically every country in the world, is becoming more liberal and tolerant. It refuses to heed the stupid demagogic suspicion of those who do not actually come from the proletarian class, which was at one time so potent a source of factionalism; it no longer indulges in heresy-trials, but permits the fullest possible freedom of opinion. A Bernstein who rejects some of the most important of Marx's generalizations is suffered to remain in the Social Democratic Party of Germany, and his right to disagree with Marx is upheld.

By many very thoughtful observers this liberalizing tendency

has been hailed as a sure and certain sign of the waning influence of Marx. It has been interpreted as showing that the theories of Marx are being abandoned by those who call themselves Marxian Socialists. But in point of fact—so far as the liberalizing tendency amounts to the abandonment of crudely exaggerated forms of Marxian theories, and of all attempts to create a sect or cult, with an orthodox philosophical and economic creed—it must be otherwise interpreted. It is not a reaction against Marx, but against that "Marxism" which Marx himself so despised, and which consisted of a perverse and cruel misrepresentation of his theories. In revolting against this "Marxism" the Socialist movement is in fact following the leadership of Marx himself, and the tendency represents a wholesome return to the teachings of Marx.

It is quite true that the Socialist movement has, in most countries, ceased to concern itself mainly with the propagation of theories; that all the Socialist parties of the world pay an increasing amount of attention to practical work in the direction of social and political reform. There has been a rather striking development of opportunism, not alone in Germany, but in every land where Socialism has attained political importance. When that splendid Socialist leader, Wilhelm Liebknecht, was first elected to the German Reichstag he was strongly anti-parliamentarian. He feared that the revolutionary spirit of Socialism would be engulfed in parliamentary issues. His avowed policy then was to enter the Reichstag, make a speech denouncing the capitalist system, and then march out, quite like the hero of the nursery rhyme! That was the naïve idea of revolutionary progress which prevailed at that time, even among astute leaders of the revolutionary party.

It is a far cry from that *opéra bouffe* attitude of Liebknecht's to that which characterized the last years of his life, and which characterizes the German social democracy today. I hardly need say here that the Social Democratic Party of Germany is devoted to a broad comprehensive policy of social and industrial reform; that it does not send its representatives to the imperial parliament merely to make denunciatory speeches and then walk out, refusing to participate in the work of legislation. On the contrary, it is by the zeal and ability with which the representatives of the party work for social reform that the confidence of such a vast number of voters has been won. Singer, Bebel,

and the other leaders of the party know very well that this is the case: that only a very small minority of their supporters understand or care for Socialist theories.

It must be freely admitted that the temper and policy of the Socialist movement have undergone a great change. This change has been both a cause and a result of growth. Where the Socialist movement is numerically weak, it is invariably characterized by fanatical bitterness and sectarian intolerance and dogmatism. Its first political victories, often almost insignificant in themselves, are won in spite of these characteristics, most often, perhaps, through peculiarly favorable circumstances leading to the election of the Socialist candidate in spite of, rather than because of, his Socialism.

It has been the universal experience that, as soon as the Socialists of any country succeed in electing a single representative to an important legislative office, a change begins to manifest itself. The propaganda becomes less sectarian and theoretical, and more practical. The temper of the party loses much of its arrogant intolerance. Its representatives abandon wild, irresponsible talk of a sudden revolution, and cheap sneers at social reforms, and devote themselves with energy to the task of securing legislation for the immediate betterment of the lot of their class.

The reason for this change is apparent. Brought face to face with great opportunities to better the lot of the toiling masses, they dare not neglect them. No matter how small the specific reform may be, considered by and of itself, the instinctive class consciousness of the Socialists prevents them from opposing or ignoring it and contenting themselves with denunciations of capitalism or prophecies of a cooperative commonwealth to come. It is easy enough for the propagandist, free from responsibility, to arraign the capitalist system, demonstrate the need of replacing it by a saner and juster system, and show the relatively insignificant importance of some minor reforms, such as the enactment of an employer's liability law, for example.

In office, confronted by the responsibility of the immediate challenge, the Socialist dares not treat such questions lightly. Always an evolutionist in theory, as a mere propagandist, engaged in arousing his apathetic fellow-citizens, he not infrequently forgot his evolutionary theory and talked as if a sudden revolution, changing the whole social organism, were possible.

Election to office brings immediate recognition of the fact that no such change is possible; that the theory of evolution is made up of vital facts. He comes to a realization of the meaning Marx intended to convey by a favorite phrase of his, "revolutionary evolution."

Thus, in the crucible of actual experience, the rivalry, hatred, and contempt of the Socialist for the social reformer, and of the social reformer for the Socialist, are melted. The earnest social reformer soon finds that when he wants child-labor legislation, factory laws, tenement-house reforms, industrial insurance, and other such reforms, the fundamental and instinctive class consciousness of the Socialist can always be relied upon. In this way, the Socialist party in almost every European country has become the party of social reform.

This, then, is the basis for the prevailing opinion that the modern Socialist movement has lost its revolutionary character and become a simple reformatory movement. The validity of that judgment depends altogether upon a certain narrow interpretation of the word "revolution." There can be no serious difference of opinion upon the point once that definition of the word "revolution" is accepted.

To Marx, more than to any other man, belongs the credit of associating the Socialist movement with the concept of a social "revolution." The phrase looms large in the celebrated "Communist Manifesto," and in all the subsequent literature of Marxian Socialism. But Marx used the term "social revolution," as he used so many other commonplace terms, in a very different sense from that which common usage had imparted to it. To understand the significance of the term in the literature of Marxian Socialism, therefore, it is necessary to get at the meaning which Marx ascribed to it, and which his most representative and authentic exponents have accepted.

Whereas, to most persons, the term "social revolution" means a method, to Marx it meant simply a result, quite regardless of the method by which the result was attained. To most persons revolution suggests street riotings, barricades, insurrections, intrigues, conspiracies, and *coup d'état*. It means the sudden overturning of things, ousting governments and dynasties. In this narrow sense the French people have been called the most revolutionary people in Europe. Before Marx, the crude Socialist thought of the time regarded such "revolutionary" methods

as the natural way to attain the realization of its goal. Against that sort of "revolutionary" effort Marx directed his splendid genius for political leadership.

To Marx that sort of revolutionary activity was purely utopian and altogether unscientific. He lost no opportunity to assail it and make it the butt of his superb satire. He pointed out that such "revolutions" are not at all *social* revolutions. After a successful *coup de force*, resulting in the overturning of a dynasty or the changing of the form of government, people continue to maintain the chief fundamental social relations of the old régime. The class struggle persists, and the wage-earner is still exploited by the capitalist as before. What he means by social revolution is a thorough transformation of these social relations, the abolition of class divisions which rest upon the exploitation of the proletariat. This result is the revolution. The transformation of the social forces of production to social property, however accomplished, is the revolution. It is not more or less revolutionary whether attained by peaceful political action or by torch and sword at the barricades, whether the process of its accomplishment takes fifty years or is the result of a sudden, cyclonic movement.

It will be seen, therefore, that, assuming this to be a fair interpretation of Marx's concept of the social revolution, the change which has come over the Socialist movement is not of necessity a departure from the revolutionary path as Marx understood the term, though it is a very great departure from the older revolutionary concept which he assailed, and which still clings to the term in our common usage. It must also be admitted that the followers of Marx did not always conform their speech and their policy to the philosophical distinction he imposed upon the term; that all too often they lapsed back into what their teacher derided as a purely utopian concept of revolution. It may also be admitted with perfect candor that Marx himself occasionally lapsed into that utopianism against which his life and thought were, as a whole, so finely devoted.

So much is granted. It will not avail, therefore, to quote isolated utterances or actions to prove that the thought of a sudden, decisive revolution sometimes possessed the mind of Marx. Against these lapses from the scientific, evolutionary attitude must be set the overwhelming testimony of his thought as a whole, and, more important even than that, of his practice.

Nothing could be more fallacious than the attempt to interpret the opportunistic development of contemporary Socialism as a progressive abandonment of the teachings of Marx. The assumption upon which it rests, that opportunism and Marxism are antithetical concepts, is entirely false. Marx was nothing if not an opportunist, using that term in its best, and strictest, sense. He was so far removed from those intransigents of the Socialist movement, who scorn the idea that the Socialists should participate in the movement for social reform through legislative channels, as the imagination can conceive. He had the profoundest contempt for all who sought to bind the movement to that abortive attitude. I make the claim that the tendency of contemporary Socialism to concern itself with a program of immediate social reforms, palliative measures for the amelioration of the victims of the social struggle, within the existing order, represents a return to the most important teachings of Marx, not a departure from them.

In the "Communist Manifesto," that work which may be said to be the corner-stone of modern scientific Socialism, we find him laying emphasis upon the fact that the transformation which he calls the social revolution is not to be a sudden act. He speaks of the "first step in the revolution" being the struggle for political democracy, the attainment of the franchise by the proletariat. That accomplished, the proletariat is to wrest, "by degrees," the control of the social productive forces from the hated *bourgeoisie*. His insistence upon the necessity of a "first step," and of a conquest of the economic resources "by degrees," shows very clearly that, from the first, Marx repudiated the old notion of sudden, catastrophic revolution. His ideal was one of the "revolutionary evolution."

In the same profound and epoch-making pamphlet Marx lays stress upon the fact that the Socialists, because they accept the class struggle as their fundamental and guiding philosophy, must not confine themselves to working for the attainment of the ultimate interest of the proletariat, the abolition of wage-labor and its inevitable exploitation and oppression, but must participate in the "immediate struggle"; that they must make their own the "momentary interests" of the workers as well as their ultimate aim. In pursuance of that thought he outlined a program of social reform upon which Socialists and progressive social reformers are making common cause today in every

country where the Socialist parties are represented in the legislatures.

Four years after the "Communist Manifesto" was published, in the aftermath of the revolutionary struggle of 1848, some of the most romantic of his corevolutionists were urging the workers to insurrection. They were obsessed by the notion that the workers could at once seize the reins of power and establish Socialist republics in the most advanced countries of Europe. Marx assailed these romanticists with merciless satire and invective. He denounced them because they would "substitute revolutionary phrase for revolutionary evolution," and while the impatient romanticists assured their followers that they could win immediately, Marx told them that it would take perhaps fifty years, not to accomplish the social revolution indeed, but to make themselves "worthy of political power"!

When Ferdinand Lassalle attempted, in 1862, to enlist the support of Marx for an insurrection in Germany, urging him to assist in raising funds for the purchase of muskets and ammunition, Marx indignantly refused, and the incident led to the termination of the friendship of the two men when they met in London a few months later. Marx understood as Lassalle could never do the great fact of social evolution.

How much of an opportunist Marx was is best shown by the history of the International Working-Men's Association. Of far greater importance than his contributions to political economy, and inferior only to his sociological discoveries, the practical work of Marx in the development of that great international organization of the proletariat has not yet received just recognition. It is impossible to read the history of the International and avoid the conviction that Marx was endowed with great political sagacity, amounting almost to genius.

The importance of the International to us in the present discussion, lies in the light its history sheds upon the mind and temper of its great leader. Marx initiated the movement, wrote its address, or platform, formulated its rules, and dictated its policies. He wrote every one of its official pronunciamientos. Never was there a political "boss" who so completely ruled his organization. For the opportunism which characterized the International Marx must therefore be held directly responsible.

It was Marx who arranged that the trades unions of Great Britain should cooperate with such bitter enemies of ordinary

trades-union policies as Bright and Cobden in rousing the public opinion of Great Britain to the support of President Lincoln and the Union cause, and to vigorous opposition to the sympathy of the government and the ruling class in general for the Southern Confederacy, which the government at one time practically decided to recognize as an independent power. It was Marx, too, who, in the same way, brought about the cooperation of all the radical forces in the struggle for franchise reform a few years later.

Here, then, was opportunism with a vengeance! Marx was not unaware that there were elements in the International to whom such a policy was repellent in the extreme. There were many followers of Proudhon, the French anarchist leader, who were very bitter in their opposition to Marx on account of his opportunism. Of these critics Marx wrote, in a letter to his friend Kugelmann: "They brag about science and know nothing. They look with contempt, as revolutionists, on any concerted action of the working-classes, and they treat with contempt any idea of making use of the legislature for anything, as, e. g., for shortening the hours of labor."

In the masterly inaugural address of the International, which Marx wrote, the Ten Hours' Act was hailed as being "not merely a great practical result," but as "the victory of a principle." Even the cooperative societies at which Marx had been disposed to sneer in 1848, were praised and heralded as a sign that wage-labor was a transitory economic form, destined to be replaced by associated free labor. And the first congress of the International, at Geneva, adopted resolutions, most of them written by Marx, in favor of such reforms as the abolition of child labor; regulation of women's labor by the state; limitation of the hours of labor for adults to ten per day; direct taxation; and so on.

It is clear, then, that, altogether irrespective of the merits of the controversy which divides the opportunists of the Socialist movement from their intransigent comrades, it cannot be said that the movement becomes less Marxian by becoming more opportunistic. Marx was himself an opportunist of a very pronounced type. In his mind, the actual union of the workers was the supremely important thing. He wanted movement above all else. He revealed the principle by which his whole life was guided in the letter he wrote to the German Socialists in 1875,

when the union of the Lassallian and Marxian forces was being negotiated: "Every step of real movement is worth a dozen programs."

Without expressing here any opinion upon the wisdom or otherwise of the Socialists entering into such compacts as the one upon which the British labor party is based, it is impossible for me to resist the conclusion that Mr. Hardie with his belief in and alliance with the labor party is much more in accord with the teaching and example of Marx than are his intransigent critics, even though the latter so loudly invoke the name and authority of Marx.

It would be disingenuous to deny that some of Marx's theories have been openly abandoned by not a few Socialists, and that they have been greatly modified by others in response to the searching criticism to which they have been subjected. Marx himself regarded monopoly-price as something exceptional, an abrogation of the law of value. Since he wrote "Das Kapital," the exceptions to his law of value have become more numerous, as a result of the development of great monopolies and near monopolies. The value of a great many commodities is determined by their marginal utility, quite irrespective of the social labor actually embodied in them or necessary to their reproduction.

Then, too, some of the sweeping generalizations which Marx made, and which his followers long believed to be absolutely true, have not stood well the test of history and close analysis. The recognition of this fact has quite profoundly influenced Socialist policy. It is worthy of note, however, that the result has been to develop the movement quite in harmony with that broad spirit of opportunism which Marx himself so well and so bravely exemplified.

Take, for example, his theory of agricultural concentration. Marx firmly believed and confidently predicted that, within a comparatively short time, the small farm would cease to exist. He saw the small farms, and the farms of moderate size, disappear, swallowed up by the bigger ones, and the whole industry of agriculture dominated by immense capital. His followers excelled their master's confidence in the truth of his forecast.

It is now recognized by all thoughtful Socialists that this forecast has been completely belied by the actual facts of agricultural evolution. The small farm has more than held its own,

the expected concentration of the industry has not taken place; there has in fact been a well-marked tendency in the opposite direction of decentralization. Irrigation, "dry farming," and the mass of improved methods resulting from the application of science to agriculture have revolutionized the industry, but in quite another way than Marx predicted.

Of course, so long as the farming-class was looked upon as a rapidly disappearing one, a class whose immediate interests must of necessity, and in an increasing degree, be opposed to the interests of the proletariat, the Socialist propaganda made small headway in agricultural communities. So long as that mistaken generalization obsessed the minds of the followers of Marx they were little disposed to appeal to the farmers, or to concede that the status of the farmer and a belief in Socialism were quite compatible. To treat the farmer as a negligible quantity, as a survival member of a rapidly disappearing class, of no account politically, was the natural outcome of that generalization.

When astute political leaders of the Socialist movement like Dr. Adler, of Austria, and acute theoreticians like Herr Bernstein, of Germany, demonstrated the delusive character of Marx's forecast, and proved that the Socialists in those countries must either recast their agrarian policy, so as to make a successful appeal to the farming class or abandon all hopes of attaining political success, modern Socialism entered upon a new phase. Of course, there was some strife, a bitter conflict between the old orthodoxy and the new truth, and the complete breaking-up of the international Socialist movement was confidently predicted by many of its enemies. But nothing of the sort happened. The leaders of the movement set themselves to the task of studying the whole problem of their position toward the farmer.

They found that the economic interest of the small farmer was not so antagonistic to the interest of the industrial proletariat as they had long believed; they found that the farmer needed Socialism almost, if not quite, as badly as the factory worker. So successful has the Socialist propaganda among farmers been, without compromising its revolutionary spirit, that many of the greatest strongholds of the movement, both in Europe and America, are in agricultural districts. The kingdom of Saxony is mainly dependent upon agriculture, but it is known as "Red Saxony" on account of the strength of the Socialist

movement there. In the United States we find Oklahoma an agrarian state, taking a leading place in the socialist propaganda.

In like manner, the persistence of the petty retail stores, and of petty industries, contrary to another of the sweeping generalizations of Marx, has profoundly influenced the policy of the Socialist movement. While its main appeal is and must of necessity be to the actual proletariat, the Socialist propaganda does not neglect the small shopkeeper or the professional man. In most countries, but especially in the United States, the actual wage-workers constitute a minority of the population. The Socialists recognize this fact. So there has developed a new and broader concept of the movement. Only a very tiny and insignificant minority now ever thinks of demanding that the Socialist movement shall be limited to the wage-earning class.

That greatest of Socialist political leaders, Liebknecht, in his later years insisted that when the socialists used the term "working-class" they included in its meaning "all who live exclusively *or principally* by means of their own labor, and who do not grow rich through the work of others." Thus, he would include the small farmers and small shopkeepers, as well as a majority of the professional classes. He declared that the German social democracy was the party of all the people with the exception of about two hundred thousand. "If it is limited to the wage-earners," he said, "Socialism cannot conquer. If it includes all the workers and the moral and intellectual élite of the nation, its victory is certain."

To sum up: There may be said to be two kinds of Marxism, the one consisting of a body of theoretical and philosophical generalizations, the other of certain principles of working-class action, precepts, and examples of tactics for the movement. This "practical Marxism" has been for a long time obscured by the Marxism of theory, and neglected in consequence. Now that critical examination has forced the abandonment of some of his theories, and the modification of some others, Marx the leader, the tactician, the statesman, is taking the place of Marx the theorist to some extent.

Hence the paradox that the influence of Marx upon the Socialist movement of today is increasing just as rapidly and as surely as it is breaking away from dogmatic Marxism.

Forum. 44:90-4. July, 1910

The Savior of the Working-man. Temple Scott

A citizen of Europe visiting the United States in the second half of the last quarter of the eighteenth century, would have witnessed a new nation's homage to its most distinguished and most successful worker in the cause of republican principles—Benjamin Franklin.

A citizen of the United States visiting Europe, a hundred years later, might have happened to find himself in the Kensal Green Cemetery, in London, in time to witness a few devoted men and women paying their last reverent farewell to their leader, as they placed in its grave the dead body of Karl Marx, the Socialist.

These two men—Benjamin Franklin and Karl Marx—are typical of their principles. The one, a respectable tradesman, gifted with a shrewd common-sense that instinctively tacked with every contrary wind to a safe harbor, was a servant in heart as well as in deed. The other, a scholar of an antique succession, with a magnificent and even royal indifference to his own welfare, and with a spirit chivalrous and self-centered as any knight of old, was an aristocrat and master in every fiber of his being. The one was of a smug, smiling, complacent nature, a man who had learned from adversity the lessons of economy, prudence and discretion. The other was of an open, fearless, loving nature, a man whose enthusiasm for humanity sent him adventuring, reckless of personal consequences. The intellect of the one could rise in delight to the portentous platitudes of "Poor Richard's Almanack"—mediocrity's *vade-mecum*. The genius of the other elaborated, after almost a lifetime of devoted thought, the book "Das Kapital," the most searching analysis ever accomplished of the basic principles which govern social evolution. And yet, today, hundreds of thousands of men, women and children to whom the name of Benjamin Franklin is a household word, have never even heard of Karl Marx.

It would seem as if this were one of the ironies of fate; but it is not. On the contrary, it is of the nature of things. Immediate success catches the superficial, who gladly accept a present achievement as an excuse for inaction and indolent content. The respectable and reputable mediocrity of a Benjamin Franklin is

the mediocrity of the average man to whom respectability is a badge of honor. He understands it. Teach him how to use it by means of a genuflexing discretion, and you have the typical republican citizen. What matters if this conduct of life brings in its wake the diseases of hypocrisy, bribery, graft and social treachery? These evils are provided against by law; and if people will be foolish and will be indiscreet, the law must punish them. Whatever you do, be careful not to be found out—that is the golden rule of service which a century's experience of government by democracy has precipitated. It is the Golden Rule of Slavery.

But the adventuring, thought-arousing enthusiasm of a Karl Marx is, to say the least of it, uncomfortable and disquieting. It does not leave you alone; it compels you to be up and doing—up and doing not for yourself only, but for yourself and everybody else; for yourself because for everybody else. It demands devotion to an ideal, and that is not easy for people who worship Mammon for one hundred and sixty-six and Jesus Christ for two out of the hundred and sixty-eight hours of each week. Of course, it is a proper thing to have an ideal, as it is a proper thing to have a silk hat—it is necessary for certain occasions. It is necessary when we desire to convert a false value into a seeming real value. Oh, yes, we believe in an ideal; but our democracy cunningly manages to prostitute it as it does every aspiration of the soul—to sell it in the market-place, having first made of it a Golden Calf. That is why we find Benjamin Franklin's "Autobiography" in every home; and that is why Marx's "Das Kapital" is buried in the dust of public libraries.

Some day a brilliant genius will re-melt the gold of Marx's book and use it to decorate a new institution that must arise in the course of events. Then, it may be, even children will lisp reverently the name of the Savior of the Working-man. For Marx's book and Marx's life are the struggles of a Titan with the ignorance of classes and masses.

Those of us who are nobly touched by the spirit of unrest and discontent, and who find inspiration in seeing a great man fight his fight, will be grateful to Mr. John Spargo for a thirteen years' devotion to his hero's life-story. This book of his—"Karl Marx: His Life and Work" (New York: B. W. Huebsch)—is a notable achievement. It reveals, and most sympathetically and convincingly reveals, a personality and a character so splen-

did and so appealing in its human qualities, that it is impossible for any reader to lay down the book without a profound reverence for the man who devoted himself to the work of redeeming his fellow working-men. It will surely serve to keep green the memory of Karl Marx's noble spirit until such certain time to come when that spirit shall have made itself manifest by the power of its embodied thought. I am more than grateful to Mr. Spargo. His biography compels me to a confession of having misunderstood Karl Marx. I am hoping that his book will be read by many who, like myself, have hitherto known of Karl Marx only through the pictures presented of him by professorial expositors and academic critics. If they do, they will meet a splendid fellow, a man who, in spite of a wayward temper, a satirical tongue, and a domineering spirit, was a delightful lover and father, an abiding friend, and possessed of a heart ever tender to suffering and sorrow. They will also meet a born leader of men—a practical politician and statesman of rare insight.

These two sides of Karl Marx's character—the thinker and the worker—have rarely been exemplified in one personality with his distinguished excellence, and with such extraordinary power. In the midst of a period of general upheaval, such as the year 1848 saw, when Marx's association with socialistic societies reached almost every capital of Europe, he found time not only to keep in touch with their movements, but he, at the same time, elaborated and placed on record the famous Communist Manifesto—that resounding bugle-blast of modern Socialism. In 1864 he organized the International Working-Men's Association and for twelve years was its guiding head. In spite of the enormous labor this position entailed he was all the time writing his great work on political economy. In the many years of his life in London, when he was struggling against poverty and even want, he yet found time to write the Socialist propaganda addresses and dispatch written opinions and advice to the various organizations scattered throughout Europe.

He could join hands with Heinrich Heine, Friedrich Engels and Ferdinand Lassalle and labor with them for the cause to which he had devoted himself. But he could also take up arms against Michael Bakunin, the aggressive revolutionary, who lived to ruin Marx's labor of years. And such was the quality of his genius that friend and enemy alike confessed to its supreme power.

For we must never forget, in measuring this man's worth, that the times in which he lived were fraught with mighty potentialities for the future; that he not only realized those potentialities, but placed himself on their side, openly and fearlessly. He had thought out the process of historical evolution in social life and had outlined its line of direction through the struggle of class against class. He denied a moral purpose to this struggle, even though that moral purpose was the battle-cry of the enthusiasts. He knew better, and he proved it. It was not a propaganda for virtue as against vice that he carried on; it was a propaganda for the education of the masses so that they might realize their own power and use it in opposition to a society that was subjugating them and their labor by appropriating the products of their labor. "*Communism*," he said, and by that word he meant Socialism, "*deprives no man of the power to appropriate the products of Society; all that it does is to deprive him of the power to subjugate the labor of others by means of such appropriation.*"

It may sound like the language of paradox to speak of Karl Marx, the Socialist, as an aristocrat. If it does, it is but the paradox in which all truth appears. Only a noble soul can act and live nobly; and to act and live nobly is to spend one's self in largesses—and to do this in no spirit of condescension, but rather in humility and gladness that we have to give what is worthy of being received. Surely such a giver is of the elect! If I view Karl Marx in this light I am but stating what his life abundantly reveals. It is your democrat, your republican, your radical, who is forever gathering, keeping and hoarding. When he does spend he spends meanly and grudgingly, as one who has not been accustomed to open the flood-gates of his nature. Or he spends with a vainglorious eye to the good things that are to come back to him. And he rarely spends himself—he has no soul to give.

The Socialism of Karl Marx has no place for such publicans and panderers. Be they capitalists or wage-earners, they are slave-drivers and slaves; and where these exist there can be no nobility. All are alike ignoble.

In saying this I may be looking through Socialism to something that is beyond; but I am saying no more than I find in Karl Marx's life and teaching. I can draw no other conclusion from his doctrine of surplus value, a doctrine that posits the

raison d'être of the capitalist society in which we live, to be the constant effort to obtain surplus-value. This constant effort, it further states, is at the bottom of all our social and political struggles. If this be so, then following Marx's reasoning, the time must come when the laboring-class, in order to save itself from complete servitude, must expropriate the capitalist class. When that time comes production will no longer be carried on for the surplus-value it yields, but its place will be taken by co-operative endeavor without thought of class-exploitation. This does not mean that all men will be equal, nor even that all men will equally enjoy life; for a doctrine cannot alter the constitution of human nature. But it does mean that the ignoble distinctions between master and servant, between classes and masses, will cease to exist. All men will be masters—masters of their craft. All men will be servants—servants of the social community.

It is ridiculous to speak of the dignity of labor under a system which produces the sweat-shop and the poisoned factory; which sets working-men uniting to deprive other working-men of the opportunity to earn their livelihoods; which looks upon the product of labor not as something that is good, and desirable, and beautiful, but as something that is cheap, and saleable, and ugly. This is the very graveyard of ambition—a bleak Aceldama of Sorrow, in which Art and Beauty are pale wandering ghosts, haunting the ruined cloisters and cathedrals whose altars have been defiled by the worshippers of Dagon and Ashtaroth.

This also I have found in the life of Karl Marx—that a brave spirit will live bravely and think bravely despite affliction, persecution, and misunderstanding. Karl Marx was not only an extraordinary thinker; he was also an extraordinary man. His thought will live after him. That is his legacy, his magnificent legacy to the humanity he loved.

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Socialism and Labor. Reviews of "Marxism Versus Socialism," by Vladimir G. Simkhovitch, and "The Larger Aspects of Socialism," by William English Walling

Professor Simkhovitch has no difficulty in establishing his thesis of the bankruptcy of Marx's theory of "scientific" Socialism. Those who have kept in touch with the Socialistic literature of the past ten or fifteen years are familiar with the extent of the destruction wrought in the Marxian structure by the irresistible logic of hostile facts, and in "Marxism versus Socialism" these facts are marshalled in clear compact array so that he who runs may read. It is not in any spirit of belittlement of Professor Simkhovitch's services that the reviewer suggests that his book almost gives one the impression of slaying the dead; fairer, perhaps, would it be to say that it, decently and in order, inters the corpse. The work, in any case, has been well done, and in a way was worth the doing, for while Marxian Socialism may be dead as a scientific theory, a great many worthy people are still unaware of that fact—including, possibly, a large proportion of the "Intercollegiate" Socialist membership, to whom "Marxism versus Socialism" may be recommended.

"Every tendency," says Professor Simkhovitch (and he handily proves what he says), "that Marx and Engels confided in has been checked, retarded, deflected, or reversed. Industry has not concentrated to any such extent as the fathers of scientific Socialism expected. Agriculture shows tendencies towards decentralization. The concentration of wealth and proletarization of the middle class has proved a fable: the moderate incomes are steadily increasing in number. The idea of the growing misery of the proletariat is abandoned in view of facts that prove the opposite; the class struggle, instead of increasing, is as a whole diminishing. Commercial crises that were to increase till they destroyed, like an earthquake, our whole industrial organization, are admittedly abating their fury."

Of course, this does not mean that Socialism or the cooperative commonwealth is impossible. But it does mean that Socialism is just as "utopian" today as it was before Marx wrote and rescued it from that estate which seemed so low in his eyes and in the eyes of the generation which followed him.

And, as Professor Simkhovitch says in his introduction, "Today the social movement throughout the world is in one sense but a quest for a new possible meaning of the word Socialism."

Pat to the reviewer's hand comes a shining proof of the truth of that statement in the shape of a new book by William English Walling—"The Larger Aspects of Socialism." The author has earned the right to a front-rank place among the American Socialist "intellectuals" and his "Socialism as It Is" of two years ago was an interesting objective study of the Socialist movement the world over. A clear-sighted observer, and a reporter honest with himself and the public, he there furnished abundant evidence of the great recent change in character of the Socialist movement from that which marked it in the days of Marx. Within its covers was contained most of the evidence that one could desire to prove the death of the Marxian hypothesis—as indeed the reviewer then pointed out. Now he comes to exhibit to us the soul of the new Socialism, which he calls "a new civilization that is gradually being embodied in a new social movement." In the "Larger Aspects of Socialism," which is, as he himself says, complementary to "Socialism as It Is," he presents to us the soul, and he finds it not in any materialistic Hegelianism, not in any mechanistic system of evolution, but in what he calls the "philosophy of modern science," and this proves to be pragmatism!

Mr. Walling's definitions of Socialism as he now understands the word are more eloquent than pages of explanation, and we must let him state his own case in his own way:

It is customary for Socialist writers, in spite of these admitted facts, to define the Socialist movement as being *mainly* a class-struggle of working people against capitalists, and then proceed to qualify this definition. This procedure is not in accord with the present methods of science which demand instead of a rigid definition with an unlimited number of qualifications a definition broad enough and loose enough so that it does not need to be qualified. From this standpoint perhaps the nearest we can come to a definition is to say that Socialism is a *movement of the non-privileged to overthrow the privileged in industry and government.* . . . In other words, *Socialism is a struggle of those who have less against those who have more than equal opportunity would afford* (p. 11).

The conflict of Socialism with present society is not in reality a class struggle. It is not a struggle between *two* social classes or even *two* groups of social classes. It is a class struggle only on one side. The ruling class or ruling classes are more or less unified; Socialism represents the opposition of all the rest of the population but not of a class . . . There is only one class, the class that rules humanity and must be

conquered by humanity. . . . Both the phrases "class-struggle" and "class-consciousness" may legitimately be used to mean exactly the opposite of what the majority of Socialists intend them to mean (p. 13).

All that remains wholly unobjectionable of the older socialist formulations is the "economic interpretation," and that, too, must be construed in a new way. Because latter-day pragmatism—and particularly the system of Professor Dewey—gives it a new meaning, Mr. Walling adopts this philosophic system as being virtually Socialism itself. "Social truth is born in social struggles. . . . This truth and this alone is the essence of all Socialism, from Marx to modern pragmatism." Consequently, in place of the absolutely inevitable process of inexorable law which issues in the cooperative commonwealth as its necessary culmination—the "scientific" Marxian view—Mr. Walling adopts the principle enunciated by John H. Hobson, that "so far as the selection, valuation, and utilization of realities go man is the maker of the universe." This he regards as "the principle which underlies both modern science and philosophy and the modern social movement, that is, Socialism." And Socialism "armed with the new philosophy will revolutionize all civilization and culture—as soon, that is, as economic and social conditions permit the masses to realize and to utilize the new science and the new philosophy."

Doubtless, Mr. Walling would vigorously deny the charge that he was no better than a "utopian" Socialist; and, on the ground that there is in his philosophy no fixed principle of justice—or of anything else beyond the fixed principle that philosophy itself evolves—and in his ethics no "ought," he might possibly obtain a technical acquittal. But when he says that Socialism "is evolving in the fullest sense of the word; that is, like every living thing it is taking on characters that could not have been predicted even by omniscience (*sic*), to say nothing of the merely human powers of foresight of its early formulators," he clearly pitches his tent very far away from the old Socialist encampment, and it is only by straining the word "science" that he cannot connect it with his position.

It is as an example of the tendency noted by Professor Simkovichitch that Mr. Walling's latest book is mainly important. His naïve discovery of pragmatism ("a new name for old ways of thinking," as James called it!), and his enthusiastic acclamation of the "new science" and the "new philosophy," are accomplished

with a gloriously dogmatic repudiation of all dogma, whether of science, art, or religion, and an authoritative rejection of all authority, which give his work a pleasant flavor of youth and freshness. One may, however, wonder whether in his identification of pragmatism with Socialism Mr. Walling represents a real advance guard of socialistic thought, or merely a small band of foragers poking around in the brush. To our thinking it is as a clear sighted observer and honest chronicler of what he has seen rather than as a philosopher that Mr. Walling best serves the community, and one '*Socialism as It Is*' is worth a dozen of its immediate successor.

PROGRESSIVE SOCIALISM

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Bernstein Versus "Old-School" Marxism. G. A. Kleene

In the year 1862, the energy and ambition of Ferdinand Lassalle sought an outlet in an agitation in behalf of the laboring class. In 1863 this wonderful man created the Universal German Laborers' Union (*Allgemeiner Deutscher Arbeiterverein*), the first organization of German social democracy. Killed in a duel in 1864, he left a small, and not altogether harmonious, group of followers. In the same decade, Liebknecht and his young disciple, Bebel, began to preach to the German laborer the ideas of Karl Marx, ideas differing in important respects from those of Lassalle. The latter's aims were idealistic, national and state socialistic; the Socialism of Karl Marx was based on materialism, was international or cosmopolitan, and hostile to the existing state and to state Socialism. In the seventies followers of Marx and Lassalle united to form the *Sozialistische Arbeiterpartei*, as the German Social Democratic Party was then called, and the first platform of the party, the Gotha program, contains indications of a compromise between the two groups. As time passed, the doctrine of Marx became predominant. Marx, not Lassalle, is today the recognized master of German Socialists. Within the past few years, however, Marxism, as a theory and a political method, has entered upon a crisis that perhaps indicates its dissolution, while in the movement represented by Bernstein, the editor and biographer of Lassalle, but long known as a Marxist, there has come to the front a Socialism that bears closer resemblance to that of Lassalle than to that of Marx. Lassalle is not invoked as its leader; the cry "Back to Lassalle" has not been raised, but there is, nevertheless, a turning from Marxian materialism to idealism, from Marxian dislike of patriotism and the national spirit to an acknowledgment of the importance of national interests, from Marxian hatred of the present state to a recognition of what governments, as organized today, have done and can do for the laboring class.

The authoritative statement of the faith of the German Social Democratic Party is given in the Erfurt program, adopted in 1891. Some of its most significant utterances may be here quoted:

The economic development of industrial society tends inevitably (*mit Naturnotwendigkeit*) to the ruin of small industries, which are based on the workman's private ownership of the means of production. It separates him from the means of production and converts him into a destitute member of the proletariat, whilst a comparatively small number of capitalists and great landowners obtain a monopoly of the means of production.

Hand in hand with this growing monopoly goes . . . a gigantic increase in the productiveness of human labor. But all the advantages of this revolution are monopolized by the capitalists and great landowners. To the proletariat and to the rapidly sinking middle classes, the small tradesmen of the towns and the peasant proprietors, it brings an increasing misery, oppression, servitude, degradation and exploitation.

Ever greater grows the mass of the proletariat, ever vaster the army of the unemployed, ever sharper the contrast between oppressors and oppressed, ever fiercer that war of classes between *bourgeoisie* and proletariat which divides modern society into two hostile camps.

Nothing but the conversion of capitalist private ownership of the means of production . . . into social ownership can effect such a revolution that instead of large industries and the steadily growing capacities of common production being, as hitherto, a source of misery and oppression to the classes whom they have developed, they may become a source of the highest well being. . . .

This social revolution involves the emancipation, not merely of the proletariat but of the whole human race. . . . But this emancipation can be achieved by the working class alone. . . .

It must be the aim of social democracy to give conscious unanimity to this struggle of the working class and to indicate its inevitable goal (*naturnotwendiges Ziel*).

The view presented in the program of present industrial society tending inevitably toward Sozialism is connected with Marx's "materialistic conception of history," a theory of social development which leaders of the Social Democratic Party apparently consider a necessary article of faith. The most complete and authoritative statement of this theory from the pen of Marx is that in the preface of his "Kritik der Politischen Oekonomie," published in 1859. It is obscure and involved in expression and a rather free translation must be given:

As producers, the members of industrial society enter into certain necessary relations to one another, relations independent of the human will and, in their totality, making up the economic structure of society. This economic structure corresponds to the stage of development reached by the

productive force (*Produktivkräfte*), and forms the basis for a legal and political superstructure. Corresponding to it is the mental life of society. The manner of production for man's material life determines (*bedingt*) the social, political and mental life. It is not the mind of man that determines his life in society, but this life that determines mind. At a certain stage in their development the productive forces of society get into conflict with the existing economic structure, or, in other words, with the social organization based on property (the legal aspect of economic structure). Ceasing to be the channels within which the productive forces move freely, the economic structure and law of property become hindrances. Then ensues a period of social revolution. Corresponding to the revolution in the economic basis of society, there is a more or less rapid change of the entire superstructure. In the study of such revolutions we must always distinguish between the changes in the material conditions of production, which are the subject of scientific observation, and the legal, political, religious, aesthetic and philosophical activities—the mental life—in which man becomes conscious of, and takes part in, this conflict. We do not in judging a man accept *his* opinion of himself. No more in the study of a social revolution ought our judgment to be based on men's opinions of it, but rather ought we to seek the explanation of the thoughts and feelings of those living in such a period in the contradictions of their material life, in the conflict between production and organization. A society never dies until all the productive forces which can find scope within it have reached their full development, and a new and higher form of social life cannot take its place until the material conditions of existence of the new society have been given birth by the old. . . . In broad outlines, we can trace the following periods of economic and social development: the oriental, the ancient, the feudal, the bourgeois. The bourgeois organization is the last antagonistic form of the productive process, antagonistic . . . in the sense of an antagonism growing out of the social and economic conditions of individuals. The productive forces growing up within the bourgeois society, however, are creating the material conditions for the solution of this antagonism.

We find in this passage, stated explicitly, a theory of social development basing all social life on economic factors. We find implied a theory of knowledge which regards man's mental activity as a reflection of physical conditions, and a monistic philosophy which denies freedom of will and looks upon human life, individual and social, as a part of nature and in a process of evolution. In the use of such terms as *contradiction* and *antagonism*, in the announcement of an antagonism created by forces within a given society and its solution by forces arising within the same society, there is an echo of Hegelian dialectic. Hegel, as usually interpreted, regarded the world as an evolution of mind, in which thought in its development creates a contradiction within itself, but develops also a solution of the contradiction, a reconciliation of opposites in a

higher unity—a process of logical evolution marked by the phases thesis—anti-thesis—synthesis. Marx saw only a material development, but this he was disposed to view as a dialectic process, a constant development of contradictions to be solved by some synthesis. This leaning to the methods of the Hegelian dialectic distinguished his theory from the modern idea of evolution. Applied to an interpretation of the present industrial system, it attains its greatest interest. It beholds the development of a contradiction in this system that will lead, with inevitable logic, to its own solution, to a "synthesis" in Socialism.

Socialism is not advocated on moral grounds by Marxists. Why apply ethics to the course of nature? Socialism is as indifferent ethically and yet as certain as the rising and setting of the sun. Unable to meet the objections that may be urged against any conceivable collectivist régime, the Marxist might say, with a shrug of his shoulder: "It is coming, whether we like it or no. It is fate." He might choose not to exert himself for its realization, because it will come of itself. Such consistent inaction, however, is repugnant to the normal man, and gives no scope to political ambition. To the proletariat there would be at least an intellectual satisfaction, if not also a tactical advantage, in the consciousness of the inevitable part it is to play in the great historical drama. There is, to the joy of the Marxist, a class conflict. The contradictions within a society that compel its overthrow manifest themselves in a struggle between economic classes, and every great revolution in history appears as the work of some one class. The issue of the present struggle between *bourgeoisie* and proletariat will be the triumph of the latter, the "dictatorship" (*Diktatur*) of the proletariat. It is not, however, until the contradictions of the present system have fully developed, not until capitalism has run its course, that the new order can take the place of the old. Hence the need of patience, and all the greater need because there is no ground of hope for any great improvement of the laborer's condition under the present system. In fact it is a question whether, from the Marxian point of view, all attempts to improve the laborer's condition under the existing system ought not to meet the sternest opposition. Such partial reforms, it might be argued, weaken that antagonism within the present order that drives us on to Socialism, and, in attempting to make conditions more tolerable, only prolong the agony and postpone

the coming of the better order of society. This, apparently, not illogical conclusion has been drawn by some followers of Marx, but, to the leaders of a political party, such consistency is out of question. The laborers' vote is not won by opposing measures giving him some immediate relief, and the social democracy, a laboring man's party, has therefore given a prominent place to reforms in taxation and to factory legislation.

To the materialistic conception, sketched above, must be joined the theory of value and distribution developed in "Das Kapital" to obtain the complete Marxian creed. This creed is at the basis of the Erfurt program, and may be regarded as more fundamental and authoritative for the Social Democratic Party than the program itself. To the student of the history of thought it appears scarcely credible that a system so comprehensive as that of Karl Marx could maintain itself for a single generation except as an object of blind devotion. More than half a century, however, has passed since, in a time of political excitement and intensest mental activity, there came to the mind of Marx, in outline the characteristic features of his system. For about forty years he and Friedrich Engels labored to extend and complete it. After the death of Marx in 1883, Engels continued alone the work until death, in 1895, removed him also from his still unfinished task. Whatever Marxism may have been in the minds of these cooperating thinkers, their followers certainly fell into confusion. The chief elements in the thought of Marx can be easily stated; it is the connection between them that presents difficulties. It may be doubted whether Marx himself ever completely unified his thought. His followers certainly have proved unequal to the strain of holding together, in bonds of logic, the scattered ideas found in his works. Marxism as an historical phenomenon, as a general movement of thought and not as the opinions of an individual thinker, has been a group of loosely connected ideas of which first one and then another has been emphasized according to the exigencies of political controversy.

Increasing the confusion due to the difficulty of interpretation, is the insufficiency of the Marxian system in the face of new knowledge and changed conditions. Material that is now antiquated was built into it at the beginning. The intellectual atmosphere has undergone a change. Ricardo and Adam Smith, in the forties and fifties, still exercised such authority that the

labor theory of value could be taken, almost without question, as one of the premises of economic reasoning. Hegelianism had not yet spent its force. Though largely rejected or given a materialistic turn, as by Feuerbach and Marx, it had yet entered so deeply into German thought as to be used unconsciously. To the German of the latter years of the nineteenth century it has become unintelligible. Among the younger Marxists the dialectic process, with its automatic movement, has been given up in favor of a theory of social evolution based on a conscious class struggle. The Hegelian lingo of Marx and Engels is still piously repeated, but it is little understood. Furthermore, the political atmosphere has changed. Marx's early manhood was spent in the midst of the agitation for constitutional reform of the forties, of the revolutionary excitement of 1848, and of the gloom that set in with the reaction of the years following '48. There settled into his thought a revolutionary spirit, a hatred of governments that does not appeal to the generation grown up since general manhood suffrage brought government under the power of popular opinion. Industrial conditions also have changed, and that sufficiently to suggest a correction of several socialistic tenets.

Slowly, almost imperceptibly, the faith of the Social Democratic Party has been moving away from the earlier formulations. Orthodoxy is breaking down. Of this the declarations made by Eduard Bernstein and his sympathizers give the clearest evidence. There is not much that is altogether new in Bernstein's writings. Indeed the bitterness of the controversy his views have given rise to within the party is not easily explained. In part the intense interest may be due to the general recognition of Bernstein's ability and importance. He has been ranked with Kautsky and Conrad Schmidt among the ablest living leaders of German Socialism, has enjoyed the friendship of Friedrich Engels, has contributed extensively to the Social Democratic press and edited the works of Lassalle, has written scholarly articles on the English labor movement, and has been identified with Marxism for twenty years or more. For a long period he was banished from Germany. These years of exile were spent in London, and probably broadened his views and saved him from a crabbed Marxist orthodoxy. Very recently he has received permission to return to Germany. In the years 1896 to 1898 he published in the *Neue Zeit*, under the title

"Probleme des Socialismus," a series of articles criticising current interpretations of Marxian Socialism. A lively discussion followed in socialistic circles. From what may be called the "Old School Marxists" his views met with sweeping disapproval. One writer, "Parvus," went so far as to remark in the *Sächsische Arbeiterzeitung*, that these views, if true, would mean the end of Socialism. To bring matters to a head, it appears, Bernstein sent an address to the annual convention of the party held in Stuttgart, October, 1898. Further controversy followed, leading to the publication of Bernstein's "*Voraussetzungen des Socialismus*," in the spring of 1899. Articles for and against his views then appeared in rapid succession in the *Neue Zeit* and in the *Socialistische Monatshefte*. Most conspicuous among the defenders of old school Marxism is Karl Kautsky, whose little book, "*Bernstein u. das Sozial Demokratische Programm*," 1899, was published with the avowed hope of disposing of the annoying subject of Bernsteinism, and may be regarded as the ablest recent exposition and defense of the views attacked by Bernstein. In a collection entitled "*Zur Geschichte u. Theorie des Socialismus*," Bernstein has republished some articles in reply to attacks on his "*Voraussetzungen*." The latter work with some of the controversial papers in "*Zur Geschichte u. Theorie des Socialismus*," may be taken as the ripest expression of his thought, and will be made the basis of the summary of his views to be given below.

The question, Is Bernstein a Marxist? will puzzle the reader of his works. In his departure from current interpretations of the faith he often appears anxious to lean on the authority of Marx and Engels. On other occasions he flatly contradicts Marx himself. He distinguishes between pure and applied theory. The former, consisting of propositions of general validity, constitutes the relatively permanent portions of a science. The latter, made up of applications of the general theory of a practical and detailed nature, is more subject to change. The pure theory of Marxism includes the materialistic philosophy of history (and implied in this the doctrine of class conflict), the theory of surplus value and of the tendencies of present industrial society. This careful distinction between pure and applied, permanent and variable, lead to the expectation that Bernstein, the old Marxist, would direct destructive criticism against the applied theory only. The pure theory of Marxism,

however, receives corrections that amount to an abandonment of some of its fundamental propositions.

It will be convenient to begin the summary of Bernstein's views with the more theoretical portions of Marxism, taking up first the theory of value and surplus value. His discussion of this subject constitutes one of the least important and least satisfactory chapters in the "Voraussetzungen." It shows keen thought, but reaches no very definite conclusions. In the third volume of "Das Kapital," published in 1894, Marx declared market value equal to cost of production, the average rate of profit being one of the elements of cost. He appeared thus to have surrendered the labor theory of value upon which the reasoning of the first two volumes was based, and which had become an article of faith to his followers. The third volume brought confusion into the Marxist camp as regards the theory of value, and Bernstein's skeptical attitude toward the Marrian treatment of this problem is not, therefore, especially significant. If commodities exchange in proportion to the cost of production what becomes of the view that the exchange takes place in proportion to the average, socially necessary labor time devoted to their production? Is the old labor theory of value to be regarded as a description of conditions existing prior to, or at the beginning of, the modern capitalistic period and projecting their influence into the period? This view, suggested in the third volume of "Das Kapital," and later amplified and defended by Engels in an article in the *Neue Zeit*, Bernstein rejects. Or is the labor theory to be taken as a mere device of thought, a means of analysis and illustration employed to show the operation of exploitation and the rise of surplus value? The labor time used in the production of the total of commodities gives according to Marx's third volume, their social value? The excess of the total product over total wages gives us total social surplus. Marx, in assuming that a given commodity sells in proportion to its labor value, uses the given single instance to picture what takes place in production as a whole and viewed collectively. So Bernstein interprets Marx, but admits that this surreptitious introduction of the concept of collective social production into the discussion of the existing system is rather arbitrary. The theory of labor value, he further states, is misleading in that it tempts us to take labor value as a measure of the exploitation of the laborer by the capitalist. It does not give a correct measure, even if we take society as a

whole and place over against total wages the total of the other forms of income. The theory also gives no measure of the justice or injustice of distribution. In taking justice into consideration Bernstein departs widely from the Marxian point of view. Marx held that the laborer does not receive the entire product of his labor, that he is being robbed. His Socialism, however, was not a demand, made in the name of justice, but a forecast of the course of evolution.

In this chapter on the theory of value, it appears that Bernstein has knowledge of the Austrian theory of value and finds some truth in it. His attitude towards it aroused the ire of Karl Kautsky and perhaps not without reason. If the Austrian theory, through the attention called to it by Bernstein, gains adherents among Socialists, it may go hard with the Marxian views of value and distribution. Bernstein, it may be remarked in this connection, unlike most Socialists, is not unwilling to learn from the "bourgeois" economists and shows acquaintance with their works.

Before the appearance of the third volume of "Das Kapital," a large part of economic literature conveyed the impression that the theory of surplus value was the essential element of Marxism. Since its appearance, and the confusion it has wrought in the views of German Socialists on value, discussion is turning more about the materialistic conception of history, and this is regarded as par excellence Marx's contribution to Socialistic thought. None will deny, says Bernstein, that the most fundamental part of Marxism is its theory of history. With it the whole system stands or falls. To the extent that it is subjected to limitations all remaining portions are affected. Now the question as to the truth of the materialistic conception of history, he continues, is the question of the *degree of historical necessity*. According to materialism everything is the result of necessary movements of matter, everything is determined and a link in the chain of causation. The materialist is a Calvinist without God. Applied to history, materialism means the affirmation of the necessity of all history. The only question the materialist need consider is through what channels necessity takes its course, what part must be assigned to nature, what to economic factors, to legal institutions, or to man's ideas. Marx considers the productive forces and organization (*die materiellen Produktivkräfte u. Produktionsverhältnisse*) the determining factor.

Engels, however, states that productive forces are only the *final* cause. The mental life also is a cause. "The political, legal, philosophic, religious, literary and artistic lines of development rest on the economic. But they all react on one another *and* on the economic" (Letter of Engels in *Sozialistischer Akademiker*, October, 1895). The question at issue is to what extent non-economic factors control history. The economic are on the whole predominant, in Bernstein's opinion, but mental forces are controlling life to an increasing extent. As their power increases a change takes place in the sway of so-called historic necessity. On the one hand we have an increasing insight into the laws of development, and especially of economic development, and on the other, a resulting growth of ability to direct and control this development. Society has greater freedom theoretically with reference to economic factors than at any time before, and it is only a conflict of interests that prevents the practical realization of this theoretic freedom. However, the common, as opposed to private, interests, are gaining ground and, to that extent, economic forces cease to be elemental powers. Their development is anticipated and, therefore, takes place more readily and rapidly. Individuals and nations are thus withdrawing an ever greater proportion of their life from the influence of a necessity acting without or against their volition. Necessity is less absolute. This view of history, which he regards as the developed form of Marx's thought, Bernstein names *economic* conception, in preference to *materialistic* conception. The Marxian theory of history, unlike philosophical materialism, he claims, does not involve determinism. It does not attribute to economic factors absolute power.

This view of Bernstein seems to rest on a misconception of the Marxian system of thought. Marx certainly was a determinist and Engels, while admitting that the economic factor is only final cause, did not intend to represent it as one of several coordinate causes, nor to deny necessity in the action of forces other than the economic. Bernstein in his "*Voraussetzungen*" looks at the immediate causes of historical phenomena only. These may indeed be predominantly mental or ideal rather than economic. Behind these, however, according to consistent Marxism, lie others, reaching back to the fundamental cause, the economic factor, the productive process. By lengthening the process of causation, by inserting mental forces in the

chain that extends from the economic condition up to given historical phenomena, we do not diminish the "degree of necessity." The inserted mental forces themselves are determined. They are a part, not an interruption, of the chain of causation. It may be questioned, too, whether it is possible to conceive of *degrees* of necessity. In philosophy, Bernstein is clearly not a disciple of Marx. It may be stated, however, that he evades or overlooks the philosophic question, the problem of the ultimate principle. He is, in fact, not preeminently a philosopher. The fundamental issue between mental and economic forces, in the Marxian view of history, is not their relative weight as immediate causes of historical events, but the question of priority in the evolution of life. From the beginning of human life they have acted and developed side by side. The question, therefore, is one of the origin and nature of mind. This problem of origin, however, is not one that Marxists have generally recognized as the fundamental one. Marx did not complete his system, and Engels only partially worked out a philosophic theory. Woltmann appears to be the only recent Social Democratic writer who gives evidence of philosophical training and has attacked the fundamental problem. Claiming that Marx, the philosopher, is as great if not greater than Marx the economist, he aims to show what is necessary to the completion of his system.

In the confusion prevailing among the professed followers of Marx and in the mind of Bernstein, it is difficult to state precisely how widely the latter has diverged from the true Marxists in the field of philosophy. It is noteworthy, however, that he assigns greater importance to ethical ideals as forces in the Socialistic movement than has been customary among German Socialists. He appeals to justice. He urges the need of a moral elevation of the proletariat. His teachings, if they prevailed, would give a tone to Social Democratic agitation very different from that which it has received from Marx's almost contemptuous attitude towards ethical considerations. Bernstein's ethical idealism may rest on feeling rather than on a well-reasoned philosophy, or he may have found his way unconsciously into the current of a new philosophic movement. To place the bases of Marxism in the crucible of criticism, or to evolve new systems of thought will be the task of others who are better fitted, but whatever faith one may have in the mission of the philosopher and in the compelling power of logic, a man like Bernstein

is certain to exert a more immediate and obvious influence on a political movement than a more profound and less popular thinker. Bernstein's idealistic tendencies, therefore, may yet prove to be of the greatest significance.

Passing now to problems of the less general and theoretic nature, the Marxian diagnosis of modern industrial tendencies with its affirmation of an irresistible movement toward Socialism may be taken up first. According to Marx, Engels and the Erfurt program, capitalism is doomed because capital, the means of appropriating the product of society, is falling into the hands of an ever smaller number of great capitalists, while the concentration of industry is effecting the organization of the constantly growing proportion of rebellious humanity that constitutes the proletariat. This Bernstein designates the theory of collapse, *die Zusammenbruchstheorie*. It implies that the middle classes are disappearing, the rich diminishing, and the poor growing in number. Closely related to it is the so-called *Vere-lendungstheorie*, the pauperization theory, which holds that the masses are sinking into ever deeper poverty. Bernstein's argument controverting the *Zusammenbruchstheorie* has proved especially unpalatable to the "old school." He argues first that capital is not falling into the hands of a diminishing number of capitalists. The corporate organization of production makes possible a wide diffusion of capital in the shape of stock and bonds. Immense wealth in the ownership of a few capitalists is not necessary for the construction of large business units. Capital can be concentrated by bringing together the holdings of a large number of small stockholders. Control over, not ownership of, large capital is necessary to the captains of industry. Statistical data are incomplete, but show that the securities of the great "trusts" of today are scattered among a very considerable number of holders. More complete evidence that the propertied classes are not diminishing in number can be obtained from income tax statistics. Not only are the propertied classes not diminishing, Bernstein concludes, but they are increasing both absolutely and relatively.

The same conclusion can be reached deductively. Modern methods of production have brought about an immense increase in the per capita product. It is not possible for a few capitalists and their families to consume all of this increase. Its consumption can be accounted for only on the assumption that it

goes either to the proletariat or to the middle classes. It is the latter that in Bernstein's opinion are receiving a larger share of the social dividend. If the proletariat, beguiled by Marxian predictions, expect to wait until the great capitalists have ruined the lesser ones before it expropriates the entire capitalist class, it must content itself to wait an indefinitely long time. But, says Bernstein, it is time to abandon the superstition that the realization of Socialism depends on the concentration of capital in the ownership of a few. Whether the social surplus is appropriated by ten thousand monopolists, or is distributed in various amounts among half a million, is a matter of indifference to the great majority, the nine or ten million families who lose by the transaction.

The attack on the theory of collapse is continued by statistical evidence to show that industry is not becoming consolidated in large concerns at a very rapid rate. Although in an increasing number of industries production on a large scale is displacing the small producer, there is a considerable number of industries in which production on a small or medium scale is holding its own. Not all industries develop in the same manner, not all are destined soon to become centralized in a few immense organizations. Manufactures and commerce show a less rapid centralization than socialistic theorists have assumed. In agriculture in Europe, and in part in America, there is a movement directly counter to socialistic predictions. Large farms are decreasing in number, small and middle sized farms are increasing. It is not true, therefore, that a rapid centralization of production is gathering together as a wretched proletariat the great mass of humanity, organizing men as producers in large workshops and on large farms and making the expropriation of a small group of capitalists and the collective management of the highly centralized economic system an easy and inevitable matter.

Somewhat vague expectations of a collapse of capitalism are, in the minds of German Socialists, associated with industrial crises. These hasten the ruin of the small capitalist and the disappearance of the middle class. They are regarded as ominous indications of the impossibility of capitalism, of its inability to control its own productive forces. "The contradiction inherent in the movements of capitalist society," wrote Marx in 1873, "impress themselves upon the practical bourgeois

most strikingly in the changes of the periodic cycle through which modern industry runs and whose crowning point is the universal crisis. That crisis is once again approaching, although it is but yet in its preliminary stage." The extension of the world's market, Socialists are disposed to hold, merely increases the scope and intensity of the contradictions of capitalism. Engels states in one place that improved methods of transportation and the extension of the field open to investment of the excess of European capital have weakened the tendencies toward a crisis, but later remarks that all factors striving to prevent a repetition of former experiences are merely preparatory to a greater crash. The time between crises has lengthened, but the delay of the next crisis indicates the coming of a universal crash of unparalleled violence. Another possibility, however, admitted by Engels, is that the periodic appearance of acute distress will give way to a more chronic trouble, short periods of slight improvement in business being followed by long, indecisive periods of depression. In the years that have elapsed since Engels wrote, his expectations have not been fulfilled. There are no indications, remarks Bernstein, of a great catastrophe, nor can business prosperity be characterized as especially short-lived. There is a third possibility. The extension of the market, the increasing facility of transportation and communication, may equalize or diffuse disturbances, while the increased wealth of industrial countries, the greater elasticity of credit, and the action of trusts may diminish the action of local and special disturbances on the general course of industry. General crises in that case need not be expected for years to come. Reckless speculation is less certain to make trouble now than in the past. Speculation is determined by the proportion of knowable to unknowable factors. It is most dangerously active when the unknown plays a large part, as at the beginning of the capitalistic era, in new countries, and in new industries. The older the use of modern methods in any industry the weaker is the speculative element. The movements of the market are better known, its changes more accurately estimated. Of course, competition and the possible appearance of inventions preclude an absolute control of the market, and, in some degree, overproduction is inevitable. Overproduction in a few industries is, however, not synonymous with general crisis. To lead to a general crisis the industries immediately affected must be such

large consumers of the products of other industries that their suspension causes a widespread stoppage, or the effect on the money market must be such as to result in a general paralysis of business. It stands to reason, however, that the greater the wealth of a country and the stronger its organization of credit, the less is the likelihood of disturbances in a few industries bringing about a general crisis. Bernstein concludes in regard to the possibility of avoiding crises that the problem cannot be solved at present. We can only point to what forces tend toward a breakdown, and what forces tend to prevent it. What the resultant will be we do not know. Local and partial depressions are inevitable. Unforeseen external factors, such as wars or an unusually widespread failure of crops, may cause a universal industrial crisis, but, aside from such possibilities, there is no conclusive reason for expecting a general stoppage of the world's industry. Socialists need base no hopes upon a universal crash.

A condition precedent to the accomplishment of Socialism, according to German Socialists, is the crushing out of the small manufacturer and farmer and the centralization of industry. This is to be the mission of capitalism. Capitalists, in short, are to organize production and then to be turned out by the proletariat. The latter is to gain control of the government while the work of the capitalistic consolidation is still proceeding. As, however, the centralization of production is taking place rather slowly, Bernstein argues, it will be a long time ere the government can undertake the management of all industry. It could not deal with the enormous number of small and middle-sized producing concerns. The proletarian state would, therefore, be obliged to leave their management in the hands of their present capitalist owners, or, if it insisted on turning these out, to entrust all productive concerns to cooperative organizations of laborers. It is mainly through the gradual extension of cooperations, not through the assumption of direct control of all production by a central political power, that Bernstein expects to see the Socialist's ideal fulfilled. In this he departs widely from Marx and the old-school Social Democrats. If Socialism is to be the work of the cooperative movement it will be long in coming. Productive cooperation, Bernstein points out in an especially interesting chapter, has made but slow progress. Distributive cooperation has been successful. Socialists have not generally been very eager advocates of such organizations of

buyers. Bernstein, however, holds that their work is well worth doing. They serve to retain in the hands of the laboring class a considerable portion of the social dividend that otherwise would be diverted to the middleman's profit and would thus strengthen the position of the propertied classes. The large profits gained by such organizations in England show that the Socialistic doctrine that the laborer is exploited as producer rather than as consumer must suffer considerable limitation. Productive co-operation has achieved less. The larger concerns that tried it usually failed to secure able leadership and discipline among the workers. Democracy in the workshop is a failure when the scale of operation is large. The idea that the modern factory trains the laborer for cooperative work is erroneous. The most successful cooperative producing concerns are those that are financed by some trades union or some organization of consumers and thus are producing, not primarily for the profit of their own employees, but for some larger body, of which their employees are, or may become, members. It is by such combination, with distributive cooperation, that productive cooperation may yet prove its feasibility. It has a future, but necessarily its development will be slow. In agriculture the problem of making the laborers capitalists and of organizing them as a democracy of cooperating producers is especially difficult, and yet it is a problem the Social Democratic Party cannot afford to neglect.

The first condition upon which, in the Marxian program, the realization of collectivism depends is the centralization of industry. A second condition is the seizure of the supreme political power by the proletariat. This step may be taken by legal means or by violence. Marx and Engels, until late in life, were disposed to think that some violent measures would be necessary. There are Socialists who are still of this opinion. Violence is, at least, often declared to do quicker work. The thought that the laboring class is numerically the strongest easily suggests that it can force itself into power and at once effect a radical change. Those who derive no income from property or privilege constitute indeed the majority in all advanced countries, but this "proletariat," Bernstein points out, consists of very diverse elements. They may, under the existing system, have common or similar interests, but, if the present propertied and ruling classes were once deposed, differences in interests would soon appear. The modern wage-earners are not the homogeneous mass sug-

gested by Marxian phraseology. In the most advanced industrial centers especially there exists the greatest differentiation. Diversity of occupation and income result in diversity of character. Even if the industrial workers were not thus broken up into groups of differing interests, there are other dissimilar classes, such as public officials, commercial employees and agricultural laborers. The employees of factories and house industries constitute in Germany less than half of those engaged in earning a livelihood. The remaining classes include the greatest social contrasts. In the rural districts there is no evidence of a class consciousness or of a class struggle such as that waged by the organized factory laborer with his capitalist employer. To the majority of agricultural laborers socialization of production can be little more than an unmeaning phrase. Their cherished hope is to become landowners. Even among factory workers the desire for collectivism is not universal. There has been a steady increase of votes cast for the Social Democratic party, but not all of these voters are Socialists. In Germany, the country in which the party has made its greatest advance, Social Democratic voters number somewhat less than half of the industrial workers. Over one-half, therefore, of this class are indifferent or hostile to Socialism. It is still a far cry to the day predicted by Marx and Engels when a united proletariat, conscious of its mission, deposes the few capitalists still remaining, and inauguates an era in which there shall be no classes and no class wars.

To exercise the hoped for "dictatorship," the proletariat, Bernstein holds, is not yet sufficiently matured. Unless workingmen themselves have developed strong economic organizations, and through training in self-governing bodies have attained a high degree of self-reliance, the rule of the proletariat would be the rule of petty orators and litterateurs. There is a cant in regard to the virtues and possibilities of the laborer against which Bernstein earnestly protests. Socialistic hackwriters and demagogues have given a thoroughly false picture of the class. The working-man is neither the pauperized wretch some Socialistic phrases depict, nor, on the other hand, is he completely free from prejudices and foibles. He has the virtues and vices incident to his economic and social position. These cannot change in a day. The most sweeping evolution can raise the general level of a nation only a little. Economic conditions enter into consideration. Engels confesses that not until what would

today be considered a very high development of productive capacity has been reached, can the total product be so large that the abolition of classes would not result disastrously. Meanwhile, Bernstein urges, the proletarian needs to cherish the homely virtues of thrift and industry. The cheap contempt for what they style "the bourgeois virtues" affected by Socialist litterateurs is fortunately not entertained by the leaders of the trades union and cooperative movement. For these organizations the shiftless, homeless proletarian is poor material. It is not surprising that in England so many labor leaders, whether Socialists or not, favor the temperance movement. Everything tending to confuse the moral sense of the worker is an injury to the cause of labor. It is deplorable, therefore, that part of the labor press affects the tone of the literary decadents. A class that is striving to rise needs a vigorous morality, not cynicism. The proletariat needs an ideal. The view that material factors are omnipotent, that they alone can lead to a better social order, is false.

Democracy is both means and end of the Socialistic movement—industrial democracy in the trades union and cooperative movement, and political democracy, through legislation, aiming to realize the same ideals. Democracy, Bernstein states, implies the absence of class oppression. It is not the tyranny of the proletariat mob over other classes. The fears of its revolutionary tendencies felt by conservatives prove to be groundless as democracy develops. It is only at the beginning of democratic movements that conservatives are chilled and radicals cheered by visions of blood and flame. The majority will not oppress the minority, because the majority of today may be the minority of tomorrow. Nor can democracy perform miracles of rapid reform. Kings and ministers of state have often moved faster than the governments of the most democratic countries. The latter have the advantage of not being subject to reaction. They go steadily, though often very slowly, forward in the direction of the ideal. Much already has been accomplished. The material condition of the laboring class has been improved. Exploitation on the part of the capitalist is being checked. Class privileges are being abolished. The proletarian is made a citizen and gradually raised to the level of the bourgeois. There is a great movement that is reconstructing society and realizing Socialistic ideals as they become practicable. This movement, in Bernstein's

mind, ought to be the chief care of the Socialist. The collectivist goal is in comparison a matter of indifference.

The Social Democratic party ought not needlessly to antagonize classes other than the proletariat. The opposition of these classes would delay the achievement of that political democracy that must precede the realization of social democracy. Germany is not yet democratic in the political sense. Some Socialists would object that German institutions cannot be reformed except through violence, inasmuch as the German *bourgeoisie* is growing more reactionary. For the time being this may be the case, although there are many facts pointing to the contrary view. It cannot long continue to be true. What is called the *bourgeoisie* is of a composite character. Its diverse elements can be fused into a reactionary mass only through their fear of social democracy as their common enemy. Some bourgeois behold in the Socialistic party a menace to their material welfare, others an enemy to religion, others still oppose it on patriotic grounds as the party of revolution. Such fears ought not to exist. The leaders of the Social Democracy ought to make it plain that it does not menace all and that it has no fondness for violent measures. Many of the *bourgeoisie* feel an economic pressure that might lead them to make common cause with the working class, but they are repelled by violent utterances.

Let the Social Democratic Party, Bernstein urges, appear in its true colors as a party of socialistic *reform*. Let it discard its revolutionary phraseology. Let it be consistent. Its efforts for immediate and partial reforms are not consistent with the expectation of a great smashing of the present industrial order. Socialism will not come all in a moment amidst scenes of horror. There will be no sudden rising of enslaved masses against a handful of capitalist tyrants. If such were in truth to be the coming of Socialism, it would be folly for the party not to promote in every way the accumulation of capital and power in the hands of the few instead of proposing the exact reverse, as it does, for example, in its policy regarding taxation. Socialism, however, will be attained gradually; its blessings will not be withheld from mankind until the great day of wrath of the proletariat. Whatever its *cant* may indicate, the party is today a party of reform, not of revolution. Recent occurrences prove this. Bebel, one of the old school, with reference to recent anarchistic plots, protested earnestly against the idea that the

party approved of violence. All the party papers quoted approvingly. Not one dissented. Kautsky, also of the old school, makes suggestions, in his work on the agrarian question, that are entirely in the direction of democratic reforms. The municipal program adopted by Social Democrats at Brandenburg is one of democratic reform. The representatives of the party in the Reichstag have expressed themselves in favor of boards of arbitration as a means of securing industrial peace. In Stuttgart Social Democrats joined with a bourgeois democratic group to form a fusion ticket. In other towns in Württemberg their example has been followed. Socialistic trades unions are advocating the establishment of municipal employment bureaus representing employer and employee. In several cities, Hamburg and Elberfeld for instance, Socialists and trades unionists have formed societies for cooperative distribution. Everywhere it is a movement for reform, for democracy, for social progress.

Bernstein is opposed to the anti-national attitude of his party. The oft-quoted statement of the "Communistic Manifesto" that the proletarian has no fatherland he declares to be false. It may have been true of the proletarian of the forties who was without political rights, it is not true of the working man of today. There are national interests, the importance of which, in his enthusiasm for a cosmopolitan labor movement, the Socialist should not disregard. If the Social Democratic Party gets into power it will need a foreign policy. The party rightly objects to the irresponsibility of the executive in foreign affairs. It is in favor of international arbitration; but it ought not to sacrifice national interests. Germany, for instance, has interests in China and should be in a position to defend them. In an article in the *Sozialistische Montashefte*, it may be added, Bernstein gives a qualified approval to a policy of expansion, even conceding under certain circumstances a right of conquest.

From the above summary of Bernstein's views it appears that he is not an orthodox Marxist. He is still a Socialist and, in a sense, a believer in the class conflict, although hoping that in the future this conflict will be waged with less bitterness and always by legal means. He cannot be called the originator of an entirely new movement within the Social Democratic Party. In rejecting the materialism he was preceded by Konrad Schmidt (in *Sozialistischer Akademiker*, 1896), the first apparently among German Marxists to urge a return to a Kantian stand-

point in philosophy, a movement that now has a respectable following among German Socialists. The pauperization theory received severe criticism from Bruno Schönlank a few years ago, and seems at best to have had only a weak hold on the better informed members of the party. In his protests against violence Bernstein has many predecessors, among them Engels and, in a degree, Marx himself. That agriculture was not fully bearing out Marxian predictions in regard to centralization of production, and that special tactics were necessary in agitating for Socialism in the rural districts, had not altogether escaped the notice of the party leaders. In urging a conciliatory policy towards classes other than the proletariat and towards other political parties, Bernstein had the example of Georg von Vollmar, leader of the Bavarian Socialists. In fact, the "compromise" or "opportunist" policy, the policy of temporary coalitions with other parties, has of late been seriously agitated in the leading countries of the continent. It is of course bitterly opposed by the grim, old agitators of the class conflict. In Belgium, however, Socialists have combined with Liberals against Clericals; in France the Socialist Millerand is a member of the cabinet under a "bourgeois" government; in Austria Social Democrats and Liberals have together been trying to hold back Christian Social Conservatives, and in Bavaria Social Democrats have combined with the Catholic party against so-called Liberals. A change is taking place in the attitude of European Socialists. Socialistic parties are no longer so exclusively the champions of the proletariat, nor the irreconcilable enemies of other classes and parties. Meanwhile misgivings in regard to doctrinal matters are appearing even among the Marx-ridden Socialists of Germany, and almost every tenet of the Social Democratic faith has suffered some limitation.

Why then did Bernstein's calm and scholarly articles call forth such bitter attacks? His only important addition to the heresies troubling the "old" school was the demonstration of the persistence of the middle class. In this there was nothing new, of course, to the bourgeois economists. To Marxists it was perhaps a disagreeable novelty. The bitterness of the controversy arouses the suspicion that personal rivalries among leaders and would-be leaders have envenomed the discussion. Much also may be due to the fact that Marxism is to many a religion, an object of faith, in whose defense they will fight. Bernstein

representing the scientific, critical spirit, naturally arouses their anger. The controversy grows out of differences of temperament. The two schools, the old and the new, the grim, old irreconcilables, Kautsky; Liebknecht, Bebel, on the one hand, and the more modern and practical Bernstein, Vollmer, David, Heine, Auer, and Schippel on the other, are affected differently by current political and industrial events. The Kaiser's speeches and the blunders of the government are enough to keep an irascible nature like Kautsky's stirred to constant fury against government and *bourgeoisie*. At the time the controversy arose the government's ill-advised attempts to secure Draconian legislation against criticism of religion, monarchy, the family and private property, was still being discussed. Kautsky sees in such attempts proof of the incurably reactionary character of the present government and ruling classes. Bernstein regards them as merely a passing phase, a bubble floating on the great current setting towards democracy. Kautsky cannot reconcile himself to the admission into the Social Democratic Party of elements other than the proletarian. Writing in the *Neue Zeit*, just before the party convention of 1899, he pointed to two tendencies within the party, the proletarian and the democratic. The approaching convention, he maintained, would have to choose between them. If the democratic tendency for which Bernstein stood prevailed, the proletariat, although still occupying the leading position, would not be carrying out an independent class policy, and a split would soon appear in the party. At about the same time, an article by Bernstein appeared in the *Vorwärts*, in which he proposed to change the clause in the Erfurt program stating that Socialism can be brought about only by the proletariat (*kann nur das Werk der Arbeiterklasse sein*) to *must be mainly* the task of the proletariat (*muss in erster Linie, etc.*).

The question to which Kautsky expected a definite answer at the convention received but an ambiguous reply. Resolutions brought in by Bebel, adopted by the convention, and subscribed by Bernstein and his followers, permit coalitions with other political parties on special occasions. They also declare that the party maintains a neutral attitude towards the cooperative movement, but attributes no great importance to it. These are concessions to the Bernstein wing. This group desired more, no doubt, but, in any case, the resolutions are as far removed from

Marxism as from Bernsteinism. Bebel declared himself pleased that by subscribing to the resolutions the erring Bernstein had returned to the fold. That the old fears of the party, however, had yielded somewhat to the new movement is revealed by the action of a few extreme Marxists who refused their assent to the resolutions.

Recent events and present tendencies give some ground for the expectation that Social Democracy on the continent will become a democratic rather than a purely proletarian movement. If such proves to be the case, if the party no longer represents one class, it must become moderate and lay less stress on class war. Then, perhaps, as some have suggested, the most bitter outbreaks of class conflict will take place, not in the political arena, but in the struggle between trades union and employer. With strong social reform parties representing the common people in local and national politics, and with vigorous trades unions and cooperative societies, the social movement on the continent may come to resemble more closely than before that of the great English-speaking democracies. In any case, the practical tone of English Socialists, of the French possibilists, and the Bernstein wing of the German Social Democracy, indicates that the best talent in the service of the Socialistic cause today is opposed to violence and to class hatred, and is comparatively moderate in its expectations and methods.

Arena. 24: 129-144. August, 1900.

Natural Selection, Competition, and Socialism.

Herman Whitaker

Of late years a decided change has taken place in the nature of the criticisms directed against the Socialist philosophy. The objections now being brought forward are mainly biological. The change is partly due to the prowess displayed by the Socialist economists in defense of their theories, and partly to their unanswerable criticisms of the existing social order. Their antagonists have been compelled to adopt a new line of attack. The battle has been shifted from the field of economics to that of biology. The brief for the defense has been handed over to the biologist.

Whatever judgment current opinion may pass upon the Socialist philosophy as a whole, it must certainly be admitted that in the field of pure economics the Socialists have more than held their own. And this might have been expected. Political economy is the science of human affairs; it treats of the production and distribution of wealth, states the economic laws that govern the production and exchange of commodities, and tries to reduce the business of society to an orderly basis. Just as the careful housewife adjusts her expenditures to her income, so the economist endeavors to influence legislation to like ends. The orthodox political economist is, therefore, essaying the impossible. He is trying to build up an orderly synthesis from a disorderly aggregation of objects; and, as a correct line of reasoning depends upon the establishment of an exact correspondence between thought and things, his efforts must necessarily prove futile. The systems of production and distribution must first be brought into harmonious arrangement before a true science of political economy can obtain.

The Socialist economists, on the other hand, have made a complete analysis of the present system. In their investigations of the nature of value they laid hold of the only property possessed by a commodity that could, under a reasonable system, serve as a measure of value. Starting with the fundamental proposition that labor creates all exchange value, they have elaborated a logical science of political economy. It is therefore not at all surprising to see the orthodox economists retiring from a contest in which they must necessarily be worsted.

Perhaps, in the present state of our knowledge, a complete answer to the biological objections to Socialism cannot be given. Experiment alone is capable of furnishing the final answer. There is, however, a provisional answer which can cover all but the theoretical objection. The argument of the biological critics, briefly stated, is as follows: The Socialist philosophy though apparently logical and consistent when judged from an economic standpoint, is in contradiction to the laws of life. Its exponents are fruitlessly contending against a law of nature; they are founding their social structures on beds of sand. Man reached his preeminent position in the animal kingdom, the biologist argues, by reason of his cunning, his ferocity, and his imitativeness. In the struggle for the existence, these qualities—which he shares in common with the tiger and the ape—have

served him well; they have made him the superb animal he is. His prehensile thumb, his curiosity, the ferocity with which he resents injury, his sociability, and his wonderful capacity for seizing anything that will help him in the struggle for existence have secured his primacy and made him the lord of creation.

The physical and mental characteristics that distinguish man from all other animals are the accumulated results of a process of natural selection continued through long periods of time. Originally, they were simply favorable variations, brought into existence by a happy combination of the sexual characters of parents—the results of a process of sexual selection. The individuals in which these favorable variations were developed to the highest degree would be most favored in the struggle for existence, and accordingly would survive and reproduce their kind. Of their offspring, those in which the favorable variations were again the most prominent would survive; and so, by adding the variations together, generation after generation, natural selection would eventually produce them fully developed as exhibited in man. Therefore, says the biologist, since the qualities that secured for man his primacy among animals are the accumulated results of a selective process that preserved the individual possessing them in the highest degree, he will retain that primacy just so long as the selective principle continues to operate; but any lessening of the rigid selection will be instantly followed by degeneration, and ultimately by extinction.

In the course of social evolution, continues the biologist, the old form of natural selection—which simply secured the survival of the physically fit—took on a new form. It changed to industrial competition, which secures the survival of the kind of man best suited for the building up of a civilized society. Brute force gives way to intellect, and ferocity to cunning; but the old struggle for existence—caused by the fecundity of Nature—still goes on. Socialism, therefore, says the critic, is suicidal. It proposes to abolish industrial competition, which is at the same time the form of the struggle for existence that created the organization of the social structure upon which Socialism depends for its existence, and the incentive that moves to action the units of society.

Here, then, is the point at issue: is industrial competition the selective principle that created our society? The Socialist says no. Such a theory cannot be reconciled with the fact that in all

countries man progressed from a low to a high type before the advent of industrial competition, or that in some countries a high degree of civilization has been reached without its aid. In his opinion, industrial competition is an injurious product of modern times. He asserts, moreover, that its tendency is to lower the mental, moral, and physical standards of the race, to cripple the consuming power of the community, and to lower the scale of living; and that eventually it will, if allowed to pursue an unrestricted course, involve both capitalist and laborer in a common ruin.

The critics of Socialism, in answering this indictment, acknowledge the cruelty of competition regarded from an individual standpoint—but nevertheless maintain that it is necessary and inevitable, and that the ultimate good derived from its operation far outweighs the present evil. The form of the struggle for existence that obtained in medieval times might, in their opinion, have been continued forever without the production of the kind of man required for the building up of a highly-organized society; that if continued forever it could only have produced a more gigantic knight—an exaggerated Coeur de Leon. They do not believe that any analogy exists between civilized societies of today and the mushroom civilizations of the past. These latter, they assert, were simply the last stages of a patriarchal system in which a small class, after subjugating the remaining members of their society, had taken to themselves all the knowledge and culture of their times. These civilizations were based on chattel slavery; as President Jordan of Stanford very aptly puts it, "the physical perfection and culture of each Greek were made possible by the labor of ten slaves."

A comparison will show that no analogy exists, says the biologist. The old civilizations were founded on slavery; ours is based on freedom of contract; in ancient societies rigid caste lines separated the classes: in ours men pass constantly from one to the other—the sons of laborers of one generation becoming the lawgivers of the next; the civilizations of old were simple extensions of the patriarchal system: ours is the result of industrial evolution. In olden times all the knowledge and culture of the day were reserved for a select few. The industrial evolution of modern society, with the introduction of machinery into all the branches of industry—with its steam power, its cheap newspapers, its cheap books, its cheap magazines, its free libraries, and its free schools—has made possible

to all the pursuit of knowledge. "He who runs may read." The toiler of today enjoys privileges beyond the reach of a king of former times. There could be no advance on these earlier civilizations without a change in the form of the struggle for existence, says the critic; and, as a result of economic causes, it changed—to industrial competition.

Now, though the line of reasoning thus put forward against Socialism seems both logical and convincing, it contains several erroneous conclusions. The statement that industrial competition is responsible for the organization of society is certainly untrue. This organization dates back to the time when, following the line of least resistance, men found they could produce more, working at special occupations and exchanging their commodities, than when each worked for himself at a variety of occupations. The organization of society must be attributed to the specialization of industry, with its accompanying system of exchange. First the simplest division of labor, the learning of handicrafts; then the gathering of the artisans into guilds, the associations of the guild masters and the rise of the trades unions, the inception of the factory system and its gradual development, the gathering of large groups of working men into factories and the integration of masters into corporations and trusts: these are the steps by which the organization of society was effected—from first to last due to the specialization of industry. Consequently, the objection that the abolition of competition means the disorganization of society falls to the ground.

The arguments of the biological critics of Socialism might be strictly true were their application restricted to cabbages and potatoes; but applied to man they are worthless. Man is not a vegetable, passively subject to the action of natural forces and reacting automatically upon them, but possesses a power of consciously reacting upon environment and partially molding it to his will. By virtue of this power he becomes, as it were, the architect of his own fortunes—the builder of his own physical, mental, and moral structures. It is therefore necessary that he have an ethical standard—that the conscious molding of environment may have for its ultimate aim the production of the highest type of man. The biological criticisms of Socialism are therefore lacking, insomuch that they have not taken this power into consideration.

Looking at the question from another point of view, an
11

examination of existing society will show that the unconscious, unregulated action of social environment has actually resulted in the setting aside of natural selection. This has been replaced by a perverse social selection, which divides society into at least four distinct classes. It preserves first the man of wealth—gained perhaps by no exertion of his own—who may or may not be possessed of the physical and mental attributes that would insure his survival under other conditions. As he is able to buy better brains than his own to manage his possessions, he is secure in the survival of his family; while the practise of tying up large estates in trust for the benefit of improvident heirs still further sets aside the operation of natural selection. The efforts of the "fool killer" are rendered abortive. In the middle class, the keenest and generally the most unscrupulous trader survives. In the working class, the man with the strongest body and the most slavish disposition is the one favored in the struggle for existence. And in the slums, normal persons, dragged down by hard conditions, are slowly exterminated, leaving the beggar and the thief to propagate their kind. It cannot be said that natural selection is responsible for the existence of any of these, or that they approach the type we should choose for our standard.

Looking at the question from still another point of view, if we allow, for the sake of argument, that industrial competition is synonymous with the struggle for existence, we shall find ourselves placed in a very peculiar position. We shall be obliged to assert that 95 per cent of the business men of all countries are "unfit." Statistics compiled by the best authorities show that 95 per cent of all business enterprises become bankrupt. This enormous percentage of failures must then prove one of two things: either that 95 per cent of all merchants engaged in business are unfit, or that an injurious selective principle, which does not discriminate between the fit and the unfit, has arisen during the evolution of society. The latter hypothesis is probably the true one. The fact that many men, after failing in business once or twice, eventually succeed can be explained in no other manner. What confidence can be placed in an automatic selective process that changes its judgment so readily? How can a man who has been twice pronounced unfit by industrial competition suddenly become fit? The only answer that can be given to such a query is, the man was always fit. Conditions, favorable or unfavorable, decided the question of his success or

failure. Much evidence may be adduced in support of such a theory.

A hundred years ago the business of society was carried on by a multitude of small manufacturers, small storekeepers, mechanics, and farmers. Business failures were few and far between, and the commercial crisis would not for some time to come startle the world by its repeated visits. Now, judged by the standard of the biologist, the majority of the business men of civilized countries were at that time fit. Judged by the standard of the economist, free competition, in a community of small producers possessing a world's market, could not produce the evil results ascribed to it today. Competition between two small merchants with a world to exploit is a very different thing from competition between a small merchant and a gigantic trust, between a blacksmith and an implement factory, between a laborer and a steam shovel. Judged by the standard of the biologist, 95 per cent of modern men of business are unfit. Judged by the standard of the economist, the centralization of capital, the concentration of industry, and the social effect of machinery have simply made it impossible for them to remain in business. They cannot compete.

The great selective principle of the biologist—industrial competition—is apparently in danger of abolition long before the Socialist gets his innings. The gradual transformation of the methods of production and distribution must eventually end in the death of competition. The copartnership of two individuals in a commercial enterprise is the entering wedge; competition is destroyed between them. The amalgamation of such firms into corporations is a further step in the process that finds its logical end in the trust. A national and international agreement between the trusts is the last step in the process that wipes competition out of existence, and with it the selective principle of the biologist and his objection to Socialism. If, though not at all likely, the commercial system could be developed to such an extreme, society would then become an industrial oligarchy ruled by trusts.

A legitimate objection to the line of reasoning thus put forward must now receive consideration. While it is certainly true that competition is gradually being killed by the business of society passing into the hands of trusts, it is equally true that competition among their employees still remains. It therefore

must be shown that under Socialism some incentive to exertion would take the place of this form of competition. The complete domination of society by the trusts, with the destruction of industrial competition between them, does not necessarily involve the disintegration of society. So long as competition developed commercial and mechanical ability among the employees of the trusts the business of society might be carried on for an indefinite period—provided no other disturbing factors entered into the calculation. Kings by divine right and their descendants ruled the world for many generations without any essential alteration of their characters. And, in like manner, industrial oligarchs might rule the world for long periods, provided the selective principle that formed the units of their society continued to operate. It is then absolutely necessary that in a collectivist society some incentive should move to action the masses of the people—that great majority who live always in the present, invariably preferring a small amount of proximate happiness to a large amount of ultimate happiness.

The exponents of Socialism are addressing themselves to this task; they are trying to bring their economic theories into harmony with the laws of life. The old-time revolutionary beliefs have given way to an evolutionary synthesis. The modern Socialist recognizes the fact that great social changes are worked out with much travail through long periods. Confident of the ultimate realization of his hopes, he is content for the present to demand such political and economic changes as will better the immediate condition of his fellowmen. Along with this he asks for the perfection of the machinery of government and the state ownership of those industries which have attained national importance. These necessary steps taken, he leaves to the future to decide what next shall be done.

The answer to the final question—what under Socialism will be the incentive to exertion?—takes on a threefold aspect. It may be stated as follows: (1) The problem to be solved is not a question of biology, but one of economics—that, whether or not opposed to the laws of life, the evolution of society is driving us to collectivism. It may be that, even as all other civilizations have contained within themselves the seeds of their own dissolution, so this apparent antagonism between the constitution of our society and the laws of life may likewise end in its disintegration. But, be this as it may, to collectivism we

must go. (2) The examination of many industries conducted by the governments of different countries proves conclusively that the quality of work turned out by them is fully equal, if not superior, to the same class of work turned out by private firms. (3) The fear of dismissal and the hope of reward are the incentives that move to action the lower classes under existing society. The same incentives spur to industry those in government employ, and there is no reason to suppose the same incentives would not obtain under Socialism.

The proper treatment of the first division of the threefold answer would require a critical exposition of the evolutionary forces that are causing the centralization of capital and industry. It would be necessary to inquire into the social effect of machinery to find out the limits beyond which the expansion of industry cannot go, and to speculate on the disastrous effects that are likely to follow the development of the Orient. To do this properly would require the writing of a voluminous work. We shall therefore have to be content with a general statement of the probabilities of the future.

The constantly increasing productivity of our national industries requires an ever-increasing foreign market, and each year adds to the enormous bulk of our exports to other countries. The consuming power of the home market is determined by the decreasing wage of the industrial classes, and by the lessening purchasing power of the American farmer. There is thus a steady increase in the surplus commodities available for export. This being the case, we are justified in asking the question, What shall we do when our merchants and mechanics have to compete in the markets of the world with the cheap labor of China and Japan? Large amounts of capital are seeking investment abroad, the nature of the capitalistic system of production and distribution—its one aim and object—being the production of surplus value. The constant lowering of the rate of interest in civilized countries forces the surplus capital to seek investment elsewhere. The spectacle of the scramble for the shares of the Lipton Tea Company, which were subscribed for three times over, and other like cases, show conclusively that capitalists are everywhere struggling for profitable investments. China—with its vast resources, its variety of climate, its splendid system of navigable rivers, and its hordes of cheap laborers—is standing on the threshold of a new era. There

the unused millions of Europe and America will find ready investment. The great commercial nations are already taking the first steps to let loose an industrial scourge upon the earth.

And what is to become of the American farmer when the introduction of the automobile completes the work of the trolley car and destroys the market for horses? What will become of the commercial traveler and the superfluous mechanic when the centralization of industry in the hands of the trusts does away with all unnecessary labor? There is but one answer: These economic conditions will compel society eventually to undertake the orderly arrangement of its business—to balance its production and distribution. It will be forced into Socialism, biological objections to the contrary notwithstanding.

The second and third divisions of the answer may well be treated together. An appeal to known facts will certainly be conceded the best answer that can be given to any question. Let us see, therefore, what light experiments in collectivism will throw upon the problem. The English navy is certainly the finest in the world; yet almost all its vessels have been entirely constructed in the government yards. Each ship, from keelson to royal truck, has been built by men in the service of the government. Each gun, from the 110-tonner at Chatham to the small arm carried by the marines, is manufactured in the great arsenal at Woolwich or in the government factory at Enfield. The clothing of both soldiers and sailors is made in the government shops at Pimlico, and the bread they eat is baked in government ovens. Here, then, is an experiment in collectivism conducted upon a very large scale. What light does it throw on the question at issue? An inspection of the dockyards, foundries, factories, stores, and bakeries, owned and operated by the British government, reveals an army of artisans and laborers at work, successfully conducting the many operations necessary to the outfitting and maintenance of hundreds of thousands of men. The skill and efficiency they display and the quality of the work they turn out are fully equal, if not superior, to that produced in the yards of Armstrong at Keswick, or Carnegie at Homestead. The ammunition boots, for instance, supplied to Thomas Atkins at \$2.50 a pair cannot be duplicated in private life for twice the money; and the clothes served to him by a paternal government at \$4.75 a suit are as strong and serviceable as they are cheap. Indeed, a habit of selling his

necessaries to envious civilians occasionally gets Mr. Atkins into trouble with the authorities, and at the same time pays a high tribute to the quality of his belongings.

Many illustrations of like kind can be accumulated from all civilized nations. The German telephone system gives the best and cheapest service in the world. The postal systems of all countries may be cited as proofs of the practicability of collectivism. Great Britain owns her telegraph and express systems, and almost all countries operate their police and fire departments. The function of education has passed from the hands of the private teacher; and, if any further proof were needed, surely the successful application of the principle of the municipal ownership of public utilities would satisfy the most inveterate doubter.

Here, then, in different countries are some millions of persons in the service of their respective governments. They are ordinary, common people, subject to the same passions, virtues, and vices as the remaining members of society. They have also the habit of choosing lesser proximate happiness to greater future happiness, which distinguishes the large majority of their fellow-creatures. What, then, is the "incentive to exertion" that keeps them at work? What is it that makes Tommy Atkins accomplish forced marches in the heat of the Soudan, and causes his American brother to chase the elusive Filipino through fever swamps? Whence comes the rapid stride of the postman? Why does the fireman plunge into the flame and smoke of the burning building, and the policeman risk his life in the protection of the lives and property of others? Wherefore flies the pen of the government clerk over his paper? And why do the "builders of the ship"—the sawyers and the carpenters, the riveters and the boiler-makers, the machinist and the foundry-men and the blacksmiths—one and all, from the highest to the lowest, ply their vocations with such industry? Why? Because all are animated by the same incentives—the hope of reward, the desire of promotion, the fear of dismissal. It is, as John Stuart Mill remarked, "very much a question of education; a man may be taught to dig and weave for his country even as he has been taught to fight for it." And there is absolutely no reason why these incentives, which now move to exertion the people engaged in private and public enterprises, should not continue to do so in a collectivist society. Given a strong central

authority, willing and able to enforce the laws, an authority that would have behind it all the force of public opinion, it seems reasonable to suppose that idle persons could be more effectively dealt with than under existing conditions. They might choose between work and starvation; there could be no other alternative.

There remains but one other point to be touched upon. If it be granted that, with a strong central authority established, the usual incentives that move to action coarser natures will obtain, have we any surety that higher forms of human endeavor will continue? Will the ripe fruits of intellect still adorn the gardens of an esthetic civilization? What incentive will cause a man to undertake, for instance, the immense labors necessary to achieve literary perfection? Is it probable that a man that could satisfy his immediate wants by a little bodily labor would be likely to undertake such arduous toil?

An analysis of the ambition that causes men to undertake such tasks will disclose the fact that it is a complex feeling, made up of many components. Probably the chief of these is the love of approbation—the desire to stand well in the eyes of one's fellows. Again, deep down in the heart of man is to be found the desire to leave some little mark upon the sands of time. The thought of annihilation, without even a fleeting remembrance remaining of his life and labors, is utterly repulsive. Wherefore it is that we find him undertaking all kinds of laborious tasks to perpetuate his memory. The pyramids of Egypt, built in the dawn of history to hand down forever the fame of some now forgotten monarch, are striking evidences of the strength of this feeling. The shepherd who burnt the temple of Diana chose infamy before oblivion, and throughout the ages are scattered countless evidences of the desire of man to leave his mark; yea, in our own time, mediocrity strives to perpetuate its memory by the erection of million-dollar tombs.

The love of power is yet another component of ambition. The centurion in the Scriptures said: "Lord, thou knowest I am a man in authority. I say unto this man, go, and he goeth; unto that man, come, and he cometh." And as it was with the centurion, so is it with all men—they love to sit in the high places. The desire for knowledge must also be added to the other feelings. Men have suffered torture, imprisonment, and even death at the stake in defense of the knowledge they thought right.

The figure of Bruno stands forth from the black night of ignorance that settled down over medieval Europe, a striking instance of the power of knowledge to move men to noble action. Haled before the Inquisition, he is informed that he has been guilty of heresy and is asked to recant. There are no witnesses, no accusers—none but the familiars of the Holy Office moving stealthily about him. The tormentors are in the vaults below. With none to sustain him, he cannot and will not deny that which he knows to be true. He is handed over to the civil authorities and burned at the stake. Galileo, imprisoned, and for the last ten years of his life treated with remorseless severity, for persisting in saying that which even his accusers knew to be true, and Milton, the blind poet, receiving in exchange for "Paradise Lost" the miserable pittance of five pounds, are also instances of the strength of this feeling. All the varied feelings here enumerated go to make up that complex emotion called ambition—the love of approbation, the desire to be remembered, the love of power, and the thirst for knowledge. It would be a bold man indeed who dared to assert that such an emotion was brought into existence by industrial competition.

On the other hand, history records many instances of useful lives and great talents crushed out or crippled by too harsh a competition. The brilliant Chatterton was compelled by ill circumstances to harness his genius and waste his splendid powers on the copying of deeds. Finally, after three days' starvation—too proud to accept alms—he died by his own hand in a lonely garret. Johnson and Goldsmith existed in penury. Shakespeare, the intellectual giant of the ages, lived harassed by debt and died a comparative nobody—a play-actor, a "fellow of the baser sort." To this list might be added the names of most of the literary celebrities of the past. With few exceptions they lived in misery, pandering to the humors of some patron, and died in poverty. Now, there is no reason to doubt that easy circumstances would have aided rather than hindered the development of their genius. No deterioration is visible in the later writings of those who, suffering in early life, at length reached affluence. The scornful name, "pot-boilers," applied by artists to the forced work turned out to keep the wolf from the door, and the appellation, "pen-trotter," applied to him who writes for the same purpose, signify the opinion of those best fitted to judge. The best work in literature and art is produced when a strong mind—

the correlative of a well-fed body—has ample room to unfold its pleasant fancies. We need not in time to come fear a dearth of authors. Of the making of books there is no end, saith Solomon, and much wisdom is a weariness of the flesh.

In the Museum of Alexandria, before the birth of Christ, a bright constellation of geometers, astronomers, and physicists, made discoveries and invented appliances that equal those of modern times. Two thousand years before the advent of industrial competition, Ptolemy produced his great work, "Syntaxis," which maintained its ground until displaced by Newton's "Principia"; Euclid prepared his great work; Archimedes, for two thousand years the greatest mathematician, discussed the equilibrium of floating bodies, discovered the true theory of the lever, and invented the screw that still bears his name; Hipparchus and Apollonius, the astronomers, Ctesibius, the inventor of the fire-engine and the water-clock, and Hero, the maker of the first steam-engine, were all members of that illustrious circle. Yet they were all in the service of and supported by the governments of their day.

To this evidence in favor of the Socialist contention may be added that furnished by the high schools and state universities of our own land. The scientists and teachers who direct the operations of those institutions display as much efficiency and zeal as those engaged in private enterprises of like kind. They would resent with heat the imputation that employment under the government necessitated inefficient effort on their part; nor could any facts be adduced to support such an assertion.

Society does not pursue the even tenor of its way—from low to high, from the simple to the complex—in one straight, unbroken line, but obedient to the law of rhythm, swings forward and back, or rather follows the curve of an upward spiral. Society, like the units of which it is composed, learns only by experience. It tries first this thing, and then that, encounters unforeseen obstacles and retires, learns by bitter experience what is best, and so advances. As it has done in the past it will do in the future. The development of the commercial system will force experiments in collectivism upon it. That which is proved good will be retained, and that which is bad rejected. And so with much travail will man work out his destiny.

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The Value of Brains in the Socialist State

M. Fouillée, in a paper in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* on "Mental Labor and Collectivism," deals with that familiar objection to the various collectivist systems, that they do not take into account sufficiently the value of mental and moral work; in other words, collectivism as a serious system of economics is based too much upon manual labor and the interests of the working classes. The liberal professions are frequently classified as unproductive, and the calling of literature itself is regarded as parasitical.

The nature and value of mental labor have always been a great difficulty with the collectivist. Marx attempted to reduce intellectual labor to a condensed form of manual labor; but this is rather like arguing that diamonds and coal are equally valuable because they are both made of carbon. The effort necessary to lift a hundredweight of goods affords no key to the brain labor of a Darwin, a Socrates, or a Descartes. The truth is, says, M. Fouillée, that brain-work cannot be measured by material standards.

M. Fouillée goes on to lay down certain laws in the development of work. The first is the progressive predominance of mental labor; this is exhibited in the movement of science and scientific industries which is characteristic of modern times. Side by side we have the progress of invention and of imitation; the first of which is manifestly by far the most intellectual, for the second is really only mechanical reproduction. According to M. Tarde, capital—which must not be confused with wealth—represents the inventions, while labor represents the imitations. There is yet a third kind of work which Marx has ignored: that moral energy—perhaps even more elusive than intellectual work—which consists in the sustained attention, perseverance, patience, and courage, without which not only the industrial world, but also the intellectual, would collapse.

M. Fouillée's second law is the progressive liberty of mental work, and indeed of all work. It is obviously a necessary condition of the greatest intellectual work to be free from rules. The inventor must have his individual initiative uncontrolled; the increase of civilization makes for the increase of this liberty.

The savage who does little or no work is hardly to be distinguished from his brother savage; while the civilized citizens of any country present notable differences one from another. Thus, work itself tends to emphasize the individual element, and progresses more and more toward the personal form. Side by side, however, with this individualizing tendency is an opposite and socializing tendency, in the sense that every age inherits the great results of the work of previous ages. This, however, does not minimize the importance of the inspiration of the individual. Scientific and industrial progress are in no sense the work of the crowd, which, indeed, has as a rule been bitterly hostile to every great labor-saving invention. How will the proposed collectivist society organize the workers who work with their brains? How can the eight-hour day be imposed upon a Victor Hugo, and how can the value of his work be estimated? Newton's law of gravitation could not be described as an immediate addition to the economic resources of mankind; Newton, therefore, in the economic state, must be ranked below the man who discovers a new material for candles. Again, time is often required. The contemporaries of Galileo could not foresee that his discovery of the satellites of Jupiter would have the effect of saving many ships with valuable lives and cargo from being wrecked.

We come to the next law—namely, that material labor is transformed gradually into mental labor. The age of machinery has obliged manufacturers of all kinds to become more intellectual, and the management of the machines themselves has had the same effect on the workers. Broadly speaking, it is the machine that undertakes the manual labor, and enables the worker to employ his brains far more than if the machine had never been invented. In France at this moment steam does as much work as would require the muscles of 105,000,000 men; and as there are only about 10,000,000 of adult workers, it follows that every French working man has, on the average, under his control the equivalent of ten workers, whose labor he is able to direct.

This brings us to another law—the progressive amelioration, by means of mental labor, of the social condition of the manual laborers. M. Fouillée comes to the conclusion that, though there are some important elements of truth in Socialism, considered as a method of social progress by the means of society itself and of social laws, yet there are in collectivism, and above all,

in communism, vast hypotheses chiefly based upon a negative criticism of what exists. Human progress is menaced by a system which apparently leaves no room for intellectual and moral effort, or for the inspiration of genius. The Chinese mandarin who allows his nails to grow in long and beautiful spirals, in order to show that he has never done any manual work, is not really more ridiculous than a system which would treat as an idle fellow the man who only uses his hand to hold a pen, and only works with his brain.

Century. 79:903-8. April, 1910

Why Socialism Is Impracticable. Charles R. Miller

The enduring charm of the literature of Socialism lies in its complete emancipation from the thraldom of reality and experience. No cringing deference to the teachings of human history chills the ardor or cramps the inventive fancy of a Socialist when he sits down to draw up a program for the reconstruction of society. He sets his foot upon the neck of authority, and blithely repudiates established truths worked out through centuries of toil and strife in the organization of institutions. The immense and enviable advantage of this free position is self-evident. It exempts socialistic theory and utterance from conformity with a host of tiresome axioms; it dispenses with research, it shuts out the confusing past, and enables the Socialist to soar with light heart and unhindered wing toward his ideal. This sense of freedom and detachment colors all socialistic writing, and must, I imagine, bring to the expounder of that faith a joyful sense of the perfection of his work rarely vouchsafed to toilers in other fields of authorship and exposition.

I am not sure that the Socialists ever attempt to picture forth, even for themselves, the actual conditions under which the socialistic state would take up and carry on its work. I have nowhere found such a projection of the program of the socialization of industry and production. A balance-sheet of Socialism, a Socialist budget, is a thing unknown. No Socialist writer has told us how much his ideal government would cost, or has disclosed to us the sources of its revenue. I shall try to put before the readers of The Century some of these missing

elements of the problem. For a thorough test of Socialism it would be necessary to construct a sort of working plan of a complete Socialist government, and put it in operation. No Socialist will do that; nobody else will have the hardihood to attempt it. I shall merely set forth some of the conditions that would confront a Socialist administration in the United States, in the hope that the showing may bring into view certain matters of which Socialism has taken small account.

There are no canonical books of the socialistic faith and practice, no body of doctrine anywhere proclaimed that is in all its parts everywhere accepted by Socialists as orthodox. Of current writers no two are in such agreement that it is possible to quote one as an authority on the "faith and morals" of Socialism, save at the risk of being reproached for misrepresentation by most of the others.

There is, however, a collective pronouncement of Socialism in this country which we may accept as authoritative, and which may safely be consulted by those who wish to know what Socialism is and what the Socialists really propose to do. Everybody should know that Socialism aims at the overthrow of the existing social and industrial system, the abolition of capitalism and the competitive wage-system. Jaurès says that the proletariat, the wage-earners, and the salaried classes, have now an ideal: "They desire not merely to cure the worst defects of society as it exists; they want to establish a social order founded on another principle. For individual and capitalistic property, which assures the domination of a part of mankind over the rest of mankind, they would substitute communism of production, a system of universal social cooperation which would make every man a partner by right."

This embodies in general terms the ideal of European and American Socialists. We find these principles concisely set forth in the platform of the national convention of the Socialist party, adopted at Chicago, May 17, 1908, the platform upon which Eugene V. Debs made his campaign for the presidency. Two hundred and nineteen delegates, representing nearly all the states in the Union, had seats in that convention. The conflict of so many minds and four days of debate ought to have prepared the platform to resist triumphantly the impact of the exegesis of the faithful and the criticism of unbelievers. From

this seasoned exposition of the principles of American Socialism I quote the general demands to which the convention and the candidates were pledged:

GENERAL DEMANDS

1. The immediate government relief for the unemployed workers by building schools, by reforesting of cut-over and waste lands, by reclamation of arid tracts, and the building of canals, and by extending all other useful public works. All persons employed on such works shall be employed directly by the government under an eight-hour workday and at the prevailing union wages. The government shall also loan money to states and to municipalities without interest for the purpose of carrying on public works. It shall contribute to the funds of labor organizations for the purpose of assisting their unemployed members, and shall take such other measures within its power as will lessen the wide-spread misery of the workers caused by the misrule of the capitalist class.

2. The collective ownership of railroads, telegraphs, telephones, steamship lines, and all other means of social transportation and communication, and all land.

3. The collective ownership of all industries which are organized on a national scale and in which competition has virtually ceased to exist.

4. The extension of the public domain to include mines, quarries, oil-wells, forests, and water-power.

5. The scientific reforestation of timber lands, and the reclamation of swamp lands. The land so reforested or reclaimed to be permanently retained as a part of the public domain.

6. The absolute freedom of press, speech, and assemblage.

In this new world where everybody is to have everything, it seems to me that, to many weary souls, the most pleasing prospect must be that of rest—rest from the endless arguing and contention that have plagued our statesmen and our politicians for a generation. Are not all these problems solved in the twinkling of an eye by this inspired program of social reorganization?

The regulation of interstate commerce would be consigned to the limbo where the Wilmot proviso and the alien and sedition acts have been forgotten. It is inconceivable that collective ownership would wink at unholy rebates, or in any other way stoop to the chicane of favoring one shipper over another. There would be no watered stock—nor any other. Monopolies in restraint of trade would be made forever impossible—an amazing paradox—by combining all the “combinations” under one ownership. Complete desuetude would be the fate of the anti-trust act. All the land being collectively owned, no re-

former could fasten upon his neighbor the guilt of the unearned increment. Although banks and banking are not mentioned in these "demands," the control of the instruments of exchange has always been insisted on by Socialists. That would inevitably come, and early. The monetary commission could rest from its labors, and turn over to the Socialist secretary of the treasury its accumulation of texts and documents; for which, we may be quite sure, that functionary would have no use. The Socialist fiscal and currency system would be simple beyond belief.

There might still remain subjects for discussion by statesmen, by legislators, by orators, and by the press, but they would be new subjects. The matters we now take with such entire seriousness would interest only antiquarians.

These "general demands" call for the acquisition by the government of a great deal of property now in private hands, owned by individuals and by corporations. About the terms of the bargain, the price to be paid to present owners, the platform is as silent as the grave. The text-writers differ on that point; some say that private property is to be paid for, not confiscated. The Fabians, the so-called "intellectual" Socialists of England, have proposed that the British railways shall be purchased at a price reached by capitalizing their earnings on a 4 per cent basis; that is, the purchase price would be twenty-five times the average dividends for three years. Let us assume that the Socialists of the United States intend to make payment for the property conveyed from private to collective ownership.

We are now in a position to apply the first test, to picture forth the effects of Socialism upon the commonwealth, and to bring clearly into view the conditions under which the Socialist government would take up its important work. All lands, all the instruments of communication and transportation, all except the minor industries, all the mines and the forests, all the water-power and oil-wells, are to be acquired by the government. Banks, as I have said, are not included in the list, but Mr. John Spargo, who was chairman of the committee on resolutions, says in his book, "Socialism," that "a monopoly of the monetary and credit functions, including coinage, banking, mortgaging, and the extension of credit to private enterprises," belongs to the irreducible minimum of Socialism's demands. Now let us count

the cost, so far as the elements of computation are written within our reach, of achieving collective ownership and of setting the new government upon its feet.

According to the last report of the Interstate Commerce Commission, the entire outstanding capital of all the railroads in the country—stock, \$7,373,212,323, bonds, \$9,294,332,504—amounted on June 30, 1908, to \$16,667,544,827. The securities, bonds and stocks representing the capital of the Western Union Telegraph Company amount to \$138,462,100. Of the Mackay companies, which control the Postal Telegraph and Commercial Cable companies, and many others, the outstanding capital is \$91,380,400, and the Cable Company has outstanding bonds to the amount of \$20,000,000. The American Telephone and Telegraph Company has, of bonds and stock, \$369,587,300. The telegraph and telephone lines, therefore, foot up \$619,429,800 of capital.

The resources of all the banks, state, national, and private, and of the trust companies in the United States, amounted on April 28, 1909, to \$21,095,054,420. If Socialism assumed the liabilities, it would feel at liberty to take the assets, I suppose, upon payment to the owners of the par value of their shares, and of the distributive value of the surplus and undivided profits. That item would be \$3,637,972,240. In banks having a large volume of deposits other elements of value belonging to capital might very properly be included. But bankers must not expect too much from Socialism.

The value of the farm-lands of the country, with the improvements, was determined by the census of 1900 to be \$16,614,647,491. The value of the buildings and improvements cannot be separately stated, but it would be only a small part of this sum, and the deduction on that score would be much more than made up by the increment in farm values in the last decade. The real property in the twenty-eight principal cities of the United States was assessed for taxation in 1909 at \$12,838,300,024. Assessed valuation ranges from 50 per cent, or less, to 100 per cent of actual market-value. The unvalued and unassessed margin, together with the billions of land-values in the smaller municipalities, would easily swell this total to twenty billions, even after the deduction of the value of buildings and improvements. The Statistical Abstract, using the figures of the census of 1905, puts the capital employed in manufactures in the

country, not including hand trades and minor concerns, at \$12,686,265,673.

No trustworthy estimate of the property value of the steamships, oil-wells, mines, and water-power privileges in the United States is accessible. The merchant marine, including sailing vessels, reached the total of 7,365,445 gross tons in 1908. The energy yielded by the streams of the country, turning 52,877 wheels, is estimated at 5,356,680 horse-power. The oil-wells produced in 1908 crude petroleum to the value of \$136,347,831. The Standard Oil Company, with a capital of \$98,338,300, does not own the wells the crude petroleum of which it refines. In 1908, other mineral products reached a total of \$1,469,982,914. These properties are worth many billions of dollars. They sustain their fortunate owners, some in comfort and others in luxury. But there is no basis for an estimate of their worth, and we need spend no time in vain regret over this blank in the statement of accounts. We have assembled so many more imposing masses of capital that these items may properly be omitted on the principle of *de minimis*. In this account, as I shall show, a matter of a few billions more or less is quite negligible.

We may now state the account in tabular form, and give ourselves up to the pleasure of contemplating the total initial liabilities of the Socialist government:

Railways	\$16,667,544,827
Farm lands	16,614,647,491
City lands	20,000,000,000
Manufacturing capital	12,686,265,673
Bank capital and surplus.....	3,637,972,240
Telegraphs and telephones.....	619,429,800
 Total	 \$70,225,860,031

How would the Socialist government settle for these properties, bought at such colossal cost? Only by issuing its obligations. There would be no other possible way. Thus we should come to the unchallenged primacy among debtor nations, with a debt of seventy billions. The present public debt of all the nations of the world is only thirty-seven billions. The largest debt of all is that of France, amounting to \$5,600,000,000; the United Kingdom owes \$3,880,000,000. The annual interest

charge on all the public debts of the world is \$1,550,433,038. At 3 per cent, the interest charge on the Socialist government's debt would be over two billions, or more than twice our entire national debt, and more than three times our total annual treasury revenue. Much more than half the wealth of the nation would, by the Socialist program, be transferred from private to "collective" ownership. We may grant that Socialism would cut down "capital's" account. It would make large deductions for inflation in stock and bond issues. But, even on the basis of a fair "physical valuation," the total would not be materially diminished.

The reader who is in any degree familiar with fiscal theory and practice will already have reached the conclusion that, to the present owners of the property to be acquired, it would not make the slightest difference whether the Socialist government proceeded by purchase or by confiscation. No government on earth could give value to bonds representing a seventy-billion debt, nor could it keep up the interest payment, meet other public expenditures, and maintain its credit. But Socialists point to the revenue features of their program, "extension of inheritance taxes, graduated in proportion to the amount of the bequest and nearness of kin," and "a graduated income tax." It ought to be unnecessary to point out that, after the government had taken over all the land and the instruments of production, transportation, and exchange, a great deal more than half the whole wealth of the country, the people would find it hard enough to make a bare living on the remainder in their hands. There would be no incomes for the levy of the tax-gatherer, no estates to be bequeathed. There remains the possibility of profit in the operation of railroads, factories, telephones, and telegraphs by the government. Experience in municipal trading here and in England shows that to be a delusive hope. The highest skill and trained capacity of private railroad management secured in this country in 1907-08 a net return of 3.9 per cent on railroad capital, and in England, in the period from 1901 to 1905, the net return to capital was 3.38 per cent. There is no source from which the Socialist government could get revenue enough to pay its bills. Its bonds would be worthless, and holders of them could never hope to receive any part of either principal or interest.

It would be just as well. What use could they make of their money? No field of possible investment would be open to them. There would be no shares to buy, no corporations to organize, no city-lots to be bought, no farm-lands, not an acre anywhere left to which they could acquire title. Only the smaller trades and occupations, and those mostly cooperative, would remain for the employment of private capital. To abolish capitalism is the fundamental intent of the Socialists. On that all else depends. To achieve that, their "demands" are made. Mr. Spargo says that when these enumerated activities are undertaken by the state, "private enterprise would by no means be eliminated, but limited to an extent making the exploitation of public interests and needs for private gain impossible." Again: "It may be freely admitted, however, that the ideal to be aimed at, ultimately, must be approximate equality of income, otherwise a class formation must take place, and the old problems incident to commercial inequality reappear." To check this deplorable tendency, Mr. Spargo would provide that the inheritance of acquired wealth should be denied, "society being the only possible inheritor of property."

Here reappears the bland, engaging aloofness from unconquerable fact and conclusion. Socialists plant themselves firmly on the postulate that present economic conditions, the unequal distribution of wealth, are responsible for the differing conditions of men. The redistribution of wealth would make all men equal, all men happy and contented. The Socialists overthrow, by paying no attention to it, the belief somewhat widely held that it is the inequality in the capacities and in the ambitions, temperaments, and dispositions of men that have made economic conditions unequal, that have brought the reward of accumulations to the industrious and the thrifty, and have visited the penalty of narrow circumstances upon the improvident and the prodigal.

Plainly, the Socialist ideal is a social dead-level, an organization of society in which no man would have either the incentive or the law's permission to surpass his neighbor in effort or in the fruits thereof. That dream of a state of social perfection can be attained by an act of their congress. The bees appear to be Socialists. They are industrious, they seem to be happy and contented. But they long ago enacted that the honey-cell should be constructed in a certain way, and that, it

happens, is the perfect way in the mechanical as well as in the economic sense. Since then, very naturally and sensibly, the bees have given up the idea of progress. Somehow, since

Man never is, but always to be blest,

he cannot rid himself of the idea of progress. It is an ineradicable propensity, and he clings to that idea and yields to that propensity in proportion to his ambition and to his ability. Some men are happy in the static condition; others find content only in change, and change always with the idea of advancement.

The chief of all the many unconquerable conditions which the Socialists ignore is the nature of man. But they cannot change it, for it is about the most unchanging and unchangeable thing within our knowledge. Death alone—the death of all men, and the arrest of all organic forces—can bring about the ideal dead-level of Socialism. Mr. Herbert Spencer assures us that one of the laws of the vital universe is “the instability of the homogeneous,” which may be transmuted into the homelier phrase, “the cream will rise upon the milk.” Organic matter is never inert, and human society is only an organism. Socialism cannot annul the laws of its existence, paralyze its energies, or blast with sterility every atom and cell of its being, by decreeing that the government shall own the railroads, the farms, and the factories. Brains, industry, capacity, foresight, would assert themselves in an Socialist state as in any other, and laziness and improvidence would bring want and dependence, as they now bring and always have brought them. The Socialist state, even if it were possible to establish it, would tear itself asunder. Living men would dissociate themselves from the body of death.

Yet the doctrines of Socialism are taught to adults and to children in many schools established and maintained by Socialists in New York City, and in many other cities and states. Picture primers, reading-books, songs, little plays, serve to instil the abhorrence of capitalism and the present social order into infant minds, and into older ones as well. The doctrines are preached from pulpits and from the chairs of professors. In no Socialist writing that has ever come under my observation has any attempt been made to count the cost of collective ownership, or to show how the bill would be paid. Any candid inquiry into the problem leads to but one conclusion—that the

bill would not and could not be paid at all. Collective confiscation must necessarily precede collective ownership.

We may therefore ask by what means the owners of half the national wealth are to be made to part with it for the common behoof. Evidently not by persuasion. Nothing in human experience, nothing in history, supports the theory of voluntary surrender. The Socialists say that the change is to come with the ballot. Socialist lawmakers, executives, and judges will accomplish the desired expropriation, paying no heed, of course, to the outcries of the despoiled. Armed revolution is no longer very much preached save by a fiery agitator here and there, and by those passionate declaimers, newly come to our shores, who bring with them the ardor of continental Socialism. And they, it seems to me, are the only consistent Socialists, the only ones who really know what they want.

Socialists who have thought much about the adaptation of means to ends long ago came to understand that revolution by force was out of the question, because, as Karl Kautsky puts it, "of the colossal superiority of the weapons of the present standing armies, as compared with the weapons in the possession of civilians, and which makes any resistance of the latter patently doomed to failure from the beginning." Is it not natural, therefore, that Kautsky should insist that "the abolition of the standing army and disarmament is indispensable, if the state is to carry out any important reforms?" Far above the great volume of Socialist utterance, that remark shines by the quality of consistency.

There is no antidote to Socialism. It was born in man when he first fought over the spoils of the chase and raged against his sturdier cavemate who seized the larger share. But there are checks and palliatives. A clear understanding of what Socialism means and what it seeks to do will tend to arrest the spread of its doctrines, now furtively making their way to a broader acceptance among dreamers and visionaries and children, and, above all, among those who are altogether uninformed as to what Socialism is. It is well, therefore, that there should be a clear understanding that the Socialist government would begin, must begin, by wholesale confiscation of property.

The palliatives are being administered all the time in every civilized land, by the action of public opinion upon the makers

of the laws. A study of the legislation of the last century in this country and in England for bettering the hard conditions of toil, for the prevention of "man's inhumanity to man," for establishing the rights of wage-earners, and setting up safeguards for them against oppression, extortion, injustice and disease, for better housing, for schooling, for the relief of the needy, and importing heart and human feeling and conscience into a relation that, a hundred years ago, was based upon the relentless law of supply and demand which regulates the commodities market, would put into the heads of the theologians, the professors, the charity-workers, and the fashionable ladies who are dabbling in Socialism, a fund of knowledge which they now lack. They would learn that, under the existing social order, under our institutions as now established, through the working of public opinion, and by the orderly process of law, the evils of which Socialism justly complains are curable and being cured.

Independent. 69:148-9. July 21, 1910

The Socialist Rule of Milwaukee

There is one phase of the Socialist Democratic victory in Milwaukee that is most significant and encouraging. Mayor Seidel publicly announced, prior to taking his seat, that before any attempt was made to put the Socialist pledges into operation the best judgment of the best experts would be obtained. "I may say that ours will be a government by experts," were the words he used to express his views.

We are advised by those in close touch with the situation that Mayor Seidel and his advisers are ascertaining where they can secure the best and most efficient men to fill the important places in the municipal government of Milwaukee, and that they are not confining their inquiries to Milwaukee, but are seeking help and suggestions from all parts of the country. A Milwaukee correspondent advises us that he is confirmed in the belief which the first public announcements after the victory aroused, that the Socialists intend to give the city the best administration they can; to be conservative, cautious and intelligent to the extent of their ability in administering the affairs of the city.

There is another significant feature of the situation. No

pressure for spoils of office is being made upon the new officials from their own ranks, and they are not likely to recognize any of these demands from the ranks of the other parties. It is reported that they are altogether likely to appoint a law department that will be composed of lawyers from outside their own party, which is short of men of that profession. The Public Works Department is, of course, the most important thing the mayor will have to deal with. This for years has been the weakest part of Milwaukee's government. At present it is composed of three commissioners and the city engineer, with equal authority and no concentration of responsibility anywhere. A bill originating in the Council was passed by the Legislature in 1907 authorizing the reorganization of this department under a single head, but was made subject to a Council referendum requiring a majority vote to adopt. The same Council which ordered the bill drawn rejected the law by a tie vote, but the new Social Democratic Council will adopt the law and reorganize the Department of Public Works. Mayor Seidel wants a strong, capable man like Colonel Waring.

In a recent personal letter concerning the real inner significance of the Socialist victory, a well-known, public-spirited citizen of Milwaukee, who did not vote the ticket, said :

You have no doubt seen it expressed in the exchanges and with absolute accuracy that the victory was a protest or a repudiation of twelve years of misrule and broken promises and high-handed disregard of public rights under the administration of Mayor Rose, and also the two years of Republican administration under the "boy mayor." This is really all there is to it. The citizens refused to take any more chances and the Republican ticket, which was a good ticket, was deserted by its friends, who felt that it did not hold out sufficient security of election. I have heard no dissatisfaction yet expressed anywhere as to the result. The city is on the tiptoe of expectation, and very hopeful expectation at that, as to how the Social Democrats will conduct themselves, and predictions are very freely made that we may expect a very satisfactory administration.

Should the Socialists of Milwaukee establish a firm and sound precedent for the administration of municipal affairs by experts, they will have opened a new and highly important chapter in the story of American municipal development.

Independent. 68:840-3. April 21, 1910

What Is the Matter with Milwaukee? Victor L. Berger

For the first time in the history of this country the Socialists have carried a large city. They have carried Milwaukee, a city of nearly 400,000. This was done after many years of struggling and gradual but substantial growth. For 1898 we polled only 2,414 votes; in 1900 we polled 2,473 votes; in 1902, 8,453 votes; 1904, 15,056 votes; 1906, 16,837 votes; 1908, 20,887 votes; and 1910, 27,622.

The Socialists of Milwaukee feel proud of this. And they have the more reason, when they look back upon the kind of campaign that was made against them.

The Socialist ticket was elected after a campaign of abuse and vilification such as has never been equaled in Milwaukee.

The Socialists were accused of preaching "bullets, not ballots"; accused of favoring a bloody revolution and of intending to plant the "red flag of bloodlust" upon the city hall. The voters were warned that the "many headed reptile of Socialism threatened the home, the religious beliefs of our people and their liberty before God and man."

These accusations were repeated day after day and night after night from the platform. They were printed day after day in bold, black type in advertisements in the daily papers. They were made the text of many editorials, in all kinds of periodicals.

Besides, almost the entire daily press—six English, two German and two Polish papers—seemed to agree that the election of the Socialist ticket would destroy the "credit" of the city and paralyze its further growth.

However, we have the satisfaction that the chief shrieker, the Republican candidate, had only 11,262 votes. The Democratic nominee polled 20,513 votes. But the Socialist, Emil Seidel, received 27,622.

We also elected all the seven candidates for aldermen-at-large, and fourteen ward-aldermen out of twenty-three.

Among them was the rock-ribbed Fourteenth Ward, on which the Democratic party was supposed to have a perpetual mortgage, because the inhabitants are all Poles and Roman Catholics.

However, altho the priests had, as usual, their political say on the Sunday before the election, in some way or another a cog

slipped and the majority of the ballots in the Fourteenth Ward were "red," not "black."

The Democratic forces in all probability would have been beaten quite as badly as the Republicans, if many "good" Republicans had not voted for Mayor Rose's Crown Prince, Schoen-ecker, because they feared the success of the Socialists.

As for the nationality of our voters, they are overwhelmingly American. As a rule the Socialists cannot get either the German or the Pole of the first generation—to say nothing of the other immigrants. We have to wait for the second, the American born generation, educated in the public schools, or, at least, in a parochial school.

Our entire method of propaganda is and has been in the past, the use of literature. We distributed about 750,000 pieces in this campaign.

Now the very next question before us is the problem of applying the international Socialist philosophy to present conditions and to Milwaukee.

We must now show the people of Milwaukee and of the United States that the philosophy of international Socialism can be applied and will be applied to a local situation, and that it can be applied with advantage to any American city of the present day.

As to the fears about the Socialist party, they are ridiculous.

Since election day is over nobody in Milwaukee is afraid of the Socialist party.

The workingmen surely are not afraid. In fact, workingmen, organized and unorganized, constitute the overwhelming bulk—more than 95 per cent—of the Socialist party.

The workingmen see in Socialism their only hope and guiding star for the future. They see in Socialism their deliverance from the present system, which keeps them in ignorance, misery and degradation—and exploits them both by low wages and high prices.

The workingmen know that only as Socialism is introduced and instilled into our public life and public institutions, will trust rule, starvation and degradation vanish.

So more and more every year the workingmen form the solid phalanx of the movement. In Milwaukee they are almost a unit for the Socialist party.

So much for the workingman.

Now, are the small business men afraid? They are not.

The small business men see that they are economically doomed by the ruthless competition and the overwhelming power of the trusts.

And they know that, after all, the great mass of the working people stands nearer to them in methods of thought, mode of life, and common sufferance than the capitalists.

The small business men are sure that their fate is tied to the fate of the proletariat. They are sure of the sympathy of the working class. And the working class to no small degree is sure of their sympathies.

Some people said, however, that in case of a Socialist victory, Socialism would be tried in Milwaukee, law and order would be abolished, and trades unionism, strikes and boycotts would run amuck.

It is true that certain of our big business men were badly frightened.

Yet it ought to be clear to every thinking man that we cannot abolish capitalism in Milwaukee alone or in Wisconsin alone.

Moreover, every thinking Socialist knows that capitalism cannot and will not be abolished in one day. We all know that it can only be abolished gradually.

We all understand that, even after its downfall, remnants of it will remain for a long time to come. Remnants of feudalism even now are still strong in England, France and Germany, altho feudalism broke down a long, long time ago. The capitalism has taken its place.

And as to law and order: While the Socialists have not made the laws and are not responsible for the present order or disorder, even our opponents must concede that we obey and carry out the laws, and make our opponents obey them as far as we can.

Socialists all over the globe have always complied with the laws of their respective countries.

At the same time, we admit that we will not give the laws that hateful and oppressive construction and interpretation toward the working class which they usually receive under capitalistic administrations.

We also declare that we will change and abolish all the oppressive laws at the first opportunity we get.

And it is, moreover, clear to every observer that the Social-

ist party is a great organizer. And organization always means order. Socialism in itself never creates disorder—it stands for a new order and a higher order.

Why, then, should any sane man be afraid of the Socialist party?

The effect of Socialism upon the laboring class can be best studied in the trades unions of Milwaukee.

We have had hardly any strikes in Milwaukee during the last six or seven years. In fact, we had many less strikes than any other city of half its size or one-fourth its industrial importance.

The main reason for the rare occurrence of strikes in Milwaukee is very simple.

The Socialist has made the present industrial system a study.

He knows very well that the individual employer is about as much the product of the present system as the individual workingman. He knows that the capitalist is as much bound by it as the proletarian. The Socialist knows what the so-called employer can do and what he cannot do.

The Socialist knows what the wage-worker may ask and what he may not ask under the present system.

The Socialist loves his home, his wife and children. He wants to get as much as possible for them. But at the same time, knowing the capitalist system, he knows that he cannot go too far without destroying his own home.

And moreover, the Socialist has the social conscience. He looks at everything from the standpoint of the working class; from the standpoint of the community; from the standpoint of the craft to which he belongs.

I can say from actual experience that at times the Socialists of Milwaukee have opposed some strikes that have been declared in this city.

True, after a strike has once been declared by the majority, the Socialists have been the most active and ardent supporters of it and the last to give up when the strike was lost. But they rarely start a strike.

Then why should anybody be afraid of many strikes and boycotts in Milwaukee in case of a Socialist victory?

The Milwaukee trades unions have proven to be a factor for order, not for disorder.

Trades unions are absolutely necessary for the protection of the workingmen, organized and unorganized.

Even our adversaries and opponents, if they are honest, admit that the influence of the Socialists has been for good; that it has been wholesome; that the very presence of our men has acted as a sort of public conscience, represented in the meetings of the common council and the county board.

We did not get any votes from the capitalist class as such, or from the hypocrites who decry sin in the open and practice it secretly.

We told them plainly that we scorned the votes of men who prefer hold-up men in control of the city government to honest workingmen.

And we want it understood that we did not ask anybody to vote for our candidates only because they are honest.

Socialists aim at higher things than simply not to steal when they are in office—and not to be bribed when a franchise is to be given out.

Honesty, that is, the capacity not to steal and not to be bribed, when there is the temptation, may be the highest ideal that any capitalist party has set up, but has not reached.

With us this kind of honesty is the first and smallest requirement.

But we want to expose the false pretense that the Socialists and trades unions will create constant disorder because of the victory of our party in Milwaukee.

We want it understood that we shall have better order in every respect under a Socialist administration than we now have in any city in the country.

The realization of our limitations in administering the affairs of Milwaukee should not, however, warrant the assumption that the complete emancipation of labor from capitalism is any less our aim and object. Therefore this is our answer to the question :

What is the matter with Milwaukee?

The working class here is gradually awakening to the possibilities of modern achievements in production. And that their proper administration will give to all the race security, peace and the necessities and comforts of life.

Independent. 52: 2018-21. August 23, 1900

The Social Democratic Party. E. V. Debs

In the Presidential election of 1892 the Socialist candidate received 21,512 votes; in the election of 1896 the vote was increased to 36,275 votes. The following two years witnessed an unprecedented spread of Socialist sentiment and in the congressional and state elections of 1898 the Socialist candidates received 91,749 votes, an increase of almost 200 per cent. in two years. But it must not be assumed that this vote represented the entire political strength of Socialists in the United States. In a number of states the election laws were such that the Socialist ticket could not be placed upon the official ballot, while in many districts the number of Socialists was so small and they were so widely scattered that no nominations were made and the Socialist vote was not polled.

The figures given are sufficient to indicate that in the United States, as in other countries, International Socialism is making tremendous strides and that its 7,000,000 supporters, spread over all the belts and zones of the globe, and the most active propagandists ever known, will in the next few years be multiplied into controlling majorities in all lands which have modern industry as the basis of their civilization, Socialism being wholly a question of economic development. This will mean the end of the present capitalist competitive system and the introduction of its economic successor, the cooperative commonwealth.

The movement is international because it is born of and follows the development of the capitalist system, which, in its operation, is confined to no country, but by the stimulus of modern agencies of production, exchange, communication and transportation, has overleaped all boundary lines and made the world the theater of its activities. By this process all the nations of the earth must finally be drawn into relations of industrial and commercial cooperation, as the economic basis of human brotherhood.

This is the goal of modern Socialism and it is this that inspires its disciples with the zeal and ardor of crusaders.

So much has been said and written of Socialism by persons who have no proper conception of its origin, its philosophy and its mission, or who, for reasons of their own, have resorted to wilful misrepresentation, that it is not strange that a great

many people instinctively shrink from the merest mention of it, and look upon those who advocate this perfectly sane and scientific doctrine as the enemies of society, maliciously plotting to overthrow its cherished institutions.

What is Socialism? To answer in a single sentence, it means the collective ownership by all the people of all the means of wealth production and distribution. It is purely an economic question; the evolution of industry has developed Socialism. Man can only work, produce wealth, with tools. The mere hand tools of former times have become ponderous and very costly machines. These machines, Socialists contend, represent progressive social conceptions. These and the factories, mills, and shops in which they are housed, as well as the lands and mines from which the raw materials are drawn, are used in common by the workers, and in their very nature are marked for common ownership and control. Socialism does not propose the collective ownership of property, but of capital; this is to say, the instruments of wealth production, which, in the form of private property, enable a few capitalists to exploit vast numbers of workers, thus creating millionaires and mendicants and inaugurating class rule and all its odious and undemocratic distinctions.

At this point I deem it proper to introduce the platform of the Social Democratic party, adopted at its recent national convention, held at Indianapolis:

The Social Democratic Party of America declares that life, liberty and happiness depend upon equal political and economic rights.

In our economic development an industrial revolution has taken place, the individual tool of former years having become the social tool of the present. The individual tool was owned by the worker who employed himself and was master of his product. The social tool, the machine, is owned by the capitalist and the worker is dependent upon him for employment. The capitalist thus becomes the master of the worker and is able to appropriate to himself a large share of the product of his labor.

Capitalism, the private ownership of the means of production, is responsible for the insecurity of subsistence, the poverty, misery and degradation of the ever-growing majority of our people but the same economic forces which have produced and now intensify the capitalist system will necessitate the adoption of Socialism, the collective ownership of the means of production for the common good and welfare.

The present system of social production and private ownership is rapidly converting society into two antagonistic classes—i. e. the capitalist class and propertyless class. The middle class, once the most powerful of this great nation, is disappearing in the mill of competition. The issue

is now between the two classes first named. Our political liberty is now of little value to the masses unless used to acquire economic liberty.

Independent political action and the trade union movement are the chief emancipating factors of the working class, the one representing its political, the other its economic wing, and both must cooperate to abolish the capitalist system.

Therefore the Social Democratic Party of America declares its object to be:

1. The organization of the working class into a political party to conquer the public powers now controlled by capitalists.

2. The abolition of wage-slavery by the establishment of a national system of cooperative industry, based upon the social or common ownership of the means of production and distribution, to be administered by society in the common interest of all its members, and the complete emancipation of the socially useful classes from the domination of capitalism.

The working class and all those in sympathy with their historic mission to realize a higher civilization should sever connection with all capitalist and reform parties and unite with the Social Democratic Party of America.

The control of political power by the Social Democratic Party will be tantamount to the abolition of all class rule.

The solidarity of labor connection the millions of class-conscious fellow-workers throughout the civilized world will lead to international Socialism, the brotherhood of man.

As steps in that direction, we make the following demands:

1. Revision of our Federal Constitution in order to remove the obstacles to complete control of government by the people irrespective of sex.

2. The public ownership of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts and combines.

3. The public ownership of all railroads, telegraphs and telephones; all means of transportation, and communication; all water-works; gas and electric plants, and other public utilities.

4. The public ownership of all gold, silver, copper, lead, iron, coal, and other mines, and all oil and gas wells.

5. The reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the increasing facilities of production.

6. The inauguration of a system of public works and improvements for the employment of the unemployed, the public credit to be utilized for that purpose.

7. Useful inventions to be free, the inventor to be remunerated by the public.

8. Labor legislation to be national, instead of local, and international when possible.

9. National insurance of working people against accidents, lack of employment and want in old age.

10. Equal civil and political rights for men and women, and the abolition of all laws discriminating against women.

11. The adoption of the initiative and referendum, proportional representation, and the right of recall of representatives by the voters.

12. Abolition of war and the introduction of international arbitration.

It will be observed that the Social Democratic party is pledged to equal rights for all without reference to sex, color or other conditions. Equality of rights and opportunities for all human beings is the vital fundamental principle of Socialism. It aims to establish economic equality by making all equal proprietors of the means upon which all depend for employment, and without which there can be no "life, liberty and pursuit of happiness." This insures economic freedom for every human being. As no one would have private property in that upon which another depended for employment, industrial mastery and slavery would disappear together and competition for profit would give way to cooperation for use.

The rapidly changing economic conditions are paving the way for the transition from competitive capitalism to cooperative Socialism. Socialists are simply indicating the trend of the evolution, and seeking to prepare the way for its orderly reception. The coming of Socialism is with them not a debatable question. That is not a matter of doubt or conjecture, but of scientific calculation.

The evolution of the social organism is a fact in nature. In the ceaseless process one state of society follows another in the sequence of succession. Capitalism, the present system, was warmed into life in the womb of feudalism and sprang from that medieval system. Within the span of two centuries this system has practically reached the climax of its development, and the marvelous material progress of that period exceeds the achievements of all the centuries since the slaves of Pharaoh built the pyramids.

The rapid centralization of capital and the extensive co-operation of labor mark the high state of our economic development. Individual initiative and competitive effort are becoming less and less possible. The day of small production has passed never to return. Notwithstanding the outcry, trusts and department stores, these great modern agencies, increase in number and power. They are the inevitable outgrowth of the competitive system. The efforts of small capitalists to destroy trusts will prove as fruitless as the efforts of workingmen to destroy labor saving machines when first introduced in the last century.

Socialists take the ground that the trust in itself is not an evil, that the evil lies wholly in the private ownership, and its

operation for private profit. The remedy is collective ownership and they propose to transfer all such agencies from private hands to the collectivity, to be managed and operated for the good of all.

Ignoring all such alleged issues as "expansion," "imperialism," "free silver," "gold standard," "protection," "free trade," etc., the Social Democratic party declares that economic freedom is the supreme question that confronts the people. A century and a quarter ago the revolution settled the question of political equality in the United States. But since then an industrial revolution has taken place and political equality exists in name only, while the great mass struggle in economic servitude. The working class are dependent upon the capitalist class, who own the machines and other means of production; and the latter class, by virtue of their economic mastery, are the ruling class of the nation, and it is idle under such conditions to claim that men are equal and that all are sovereign citizens. No man is free in any just sense who has to rely upon the arbitrary will of another for the opportunity to work. Such a man works, and therefore lives, by permission, and this is the economic relation of the working class to the capitalist class in the present system.

In the last century millions of workers were exploited of the fruit of their labor under the institution of chattel slavery. Work being done by hand, ownership of the slave was a condition necessary to his exploitation. But chattel slavery disappeared before the march of industrial evolution, and today would be an economic impossibility. It is no longer necessary to own the body of the workingman in order to appropriate the fruit of his labor; it is only necessary to own the tool with which he works, and without which he is helpless. This tool in its modern form is a vast machine which the worker cannot afford to buy, and against which he cannot compete with his bare hands, and in the very nature of the situation he is at the mercy of the owner of the machine, his employment is precarious and his very life is suspended by a slender thread.

Then, again, the factory and mine are operated for profit only and the owner can, and often does, close it down at will, throwing hundreds, perhaps thousands, out of employment who, with their families, are as helpless as if in the desert wastes of Sahara. The recent shutdown of the American Wire and Steel

Trust in the interest of stock jobbery presented a startling object lesson of economic dependence of the working class.

The few who own the machines do not use them. The many who use them do not own them. The few who own them are enabled to exploit the many who use them; hence a few millionaires and many mendicants, extreme opulence and abject poverty, princely palaces and hideous huts, riotous extravagance and haggard want, constituting social scenes sickening to contemplate, and in the presence of which the master hand of Hugo or Dickens is palsied and has no mission.

The Social Democratic party is organizing in every village and hamlet, every town and city of every state and territory in the Union. It has held its national convention, its candidates are in the field, and it is appealing to the American people. It will neither fuse nor compromise. It proposes to press forward, step by step, until it conquers the political power and secures control of government.

This will mark the end of the capitalist system. The factories and mills and mines, the railroads and telegraph and telephone, and all other means of production and distribution will be transferred to the people in their collective capacity, industry will be operated cooperatively, and every human being will have the "inalienable right" to work and to enjoy the fruit of his labor. The hours of labor will be reduced according to the progress of invention. Rent, interest and profit will be no more. The sordid spirit of commercial conquest will be dead. War and its ravages will pass into history. Economic equality will have triumphed, labor will stand forth emancipated, and the sons and daughters of men will glorify the triumphs of Social Democracy.

SOCIALISM VERSUS OTHER FORMS OF RADICALISM

North American Review. 196:9-19. July, 1912

Syndicalism. Louis Levine

The world has been startled of late by the appearance of a new actor in the drama of social life. Coming at a juncture when he was least expected, the new *dramatis persona* at once upset the situation which he found and began accelerating the movement of events and passions. He came but yesterday, but his determined planning and intense action have already made it clear that he has a momentous part to play and that the development of the social drama will in no small measure depend upon what he wills and does.

This new *dramatic persona* is the Syndicalist. But a short while ago he may have been considered a peculiar product of that peculiar country, France, which has furnished the world for nearly a century with "freakish" social ideas and "fantastic" social schemes. But now no one can any longer hold that view. The Syndicalist has invaded "common-sense" England and has raised his voice in the "land of the free." He has become an international figure, and his ideas are of significance to the entire world.

Taken by surprise, however, the world has not had an opportunity as yet properly to measure the new-comer, to find out what he wants. In fact, the task is not so easy. It would seem that the Syndicalist really had nothing to wish that had not already been supplied. It would seem that in a world where Trade-Unionist, Social Reformer, Socialist, and Anarchist vied with one another in curing all the social evils of the times, no new brand of "ism" was possible and no room left for an "ist" of a new kind. The fact, however, cannot be argued away: the new "ist" is here and proclaims he has a new message for the world. There must be, then, something in Syndicalism which differentiates it from any other known "ism," and the question naturally arises, What is it?

In a general way the answer may be given at the very outset. Syndicalism is an attempt to combine Socialism and Trade-Unionism in a higher synthesis in which the labor unions should become the basis of Socialism, and Socialism the ideal expression of the unions. Such a synthesis necessarily presupposes certain modifications in the structure and ideas of both Socialism and Trade-Unionism, and, like every other synthesis, contains something that was not present in its constituent elements.

The Syndicalist synthesis cannot be regarded as an entirely sudden phenomenon in the world of social thought and practice. On the contrary, it can be traced back to the "International Association of Workingmen" founded in 1864, and even further back to the first half of the nineteenth century when both Socialism and Trade-Unionism were making their first awkward steps. It is not at all strange that this should be so. Syndicalism is the child of peculiar conditions and of a peculiar psychology closely bound up with Socialism and Trade-Unionism. It is but natural, therefore, that it should be found in some rudimentary form in the early stages of the social movement of the nineteenth century and that the Syndicalism of today should be the mature fruit of seed sown long ago.

It will be easier to understand the nature of the fruit by first analyzing the seed and by examining the environment in which it struck root and grew. The seed was the idea of Socialism. Ever since the problem of labor in its modern phase arose, in the early part of the nineteenth century, one solution offered was to solve the labor problem by dissolving the wages-system. As a rule, this solution came from the so-called better, and certainly better educated, classes of society who were deeply moved by the sufferings of the working-class. Accustomed to abstract and general reasoning, these representatives of the middle classes and of the aristocracy sought for the general causes of the social evils and found them in the institution of private property and in competition. They therefore called upon society to do away with private property and to reorganize industry on the basis of collective solidarity and collective responsibility. As a recompence for following their advice, they held out to the world the promise of a new social era in which Equality, Liberty, and Fraternity would truly reign supreme.

Born amidst the upper classes, the idea of Socialism soon swept a portion of the working-class. A number of intelligent,

active, and ambitious working-men were charmed and fascinated by the grand visions of Socialism and became ardently devoted to the cause of emancipating their fellow working-men from the "thraldom" of the wages-system. The ideal of industrial freedom, social equality, and intellectual opportunities thrilled their souls with the deepest enthusiasm, and they felt themselves to be the inspired leaders in a great historic movement which, in their opinion, was to liberate their class and to rejuvenate the world.

The militant Socialist working-man soon found out, however, that his task was not easy and that his situation was full of inner contradictions. In the Socialist organizations of all types—secret, revolutionary, educational, and so forth—which he frequented he was at all times thrown together with more or less numerous descendants of the middle class who were attracted to Socialism for various reasons and who claimed the part of intellectual leaders in the Socialist movement. These "intellectuals," as they were dubbed by the working-men, surely possessed superior lights and were better fitted by training and experience for the rôle of leaders. The Socialist working-man was loath, however, to acknowledge this. Awakened to a sense of the historical importance of his class, enthused by the idea of social equality, thrilled by the sentiment of his own intellectual growth, he resented any suggestion of inequality within the Socialist ranks themselves, and watched with suspicion and ill feeling the tendency of the "intellectuals" toward leadership and predominance. He could not at all times effectively counteract it. But he was always ready to turn upon the middle-class "intellectuals" to whose intuition and reasoning he owed the idea of Socialism, and to start a movement in which his own predominance would not be threatened. This tendency, on the part of the militant Socialist working-man, runs like a thread through the whole history of modern Socialism.

On the other hand, turning to his own class, the militant Socialist working-man soon convinced himself that he could not get at once the response he so hopefully expected. The large mass of the working-class was actuated by simpler and more elementary motives. It wanted some improvement right now and here, it cared more for things than for principles, it had a keener feeling for the pangs of the stomach than for the pains of the heart or brain. The Socialist working-man regretted and

deplored this state of affairs, but he could not ignore it. After all, he was a working-man himself, who knew by bitter experience what it meant to be in want. He had to adapt himself, therefore, to the conditions and psychology of his class and to take an interest in their immediate demands if he wanted them to take an interest in his far-away ideal. As a rule, the mass of the workers hit independently upon the means of improving their immediate conditions—means which hinged upon the idea of combination and organization, and which resulted in the rise and development of Trade-Unionism. The militant Socialist working-man was thus driven to do his share in the work of the Trade-Unions, for there was no hope for him outside the ranks of his own class.

But entering the Trade-Union, the Socialist working-man never lost sight of his ideal. Nor did he lose his impatience with existing conditions or his feverish hope to bring about his ideal as soon as possible. He was a social Faust within whose breast two souls resided—one clinging to the sufferings and demands of his class in the present, the other sweeping “the dust of the present above into the high spaces” of Socialism in the future. But, like Faust, he was not content to have his breast rent in twain. On the contrary, he was intent upon realizing, as soon as possible, a harmonious union of the conflicting feelings, ideas, and aspirations which his peculiar economic, political, and intellectual existence called into being.

The history of the Socialist movement reveals the gropings of the militant Socialist working-man for the unity just spoken of, and this is why rudimentary Syndicalist ideas may be found all along in the social movement of the nineteenth century. But before Syndicalism could assume its present developed form, it was necessary that the conditions described above should become more pronounced and accentuated. This was brought about in the latter part of the past century by a complicated chain of economic, political, and other causes.

In the nineties of the past century the Socialists had their first big electoral successes in France, Germany, and other countries. They not only polled a large number of votes, but succeeded in electing many of their members to national and municipal legislative bodies. The result was a change in the composition and character of the Socialist parties. The latter were everywhere invaded by large and new sections of the

middle class, particularly by representatives of the liberal professions such as doctors, lawyers, teachers, and so forth, who swamped the Socialist working-men in all positions of authority and responsibility in the Socialist party, Socialist press, and Socialist parliamentary groups. The invading "intellectuals" carried with them their group feelings, their habits of mind, and their methods of procedure. They introduced into the Socialist movement the ideas of slow evolutionary changes, of a gradual "growing-in" into Socialism, of peaceful and diplomatic negotiations with "capitalist" political parties. They extolled the importance and influence of legislative bodies in which they could display their general knowledge, oratorical powers, and resplendent qualities. In a word, they imparted to Socialism that exclusively political and legislative character—smooth and moderate—which has in recent years both surprised and soothed the world.

At the same time the political Socialists were not slow to show their intention of subordinating the economic organizations of the working-class to the political party. To the political Socialist the Trade-Union could not but appear as a secondary organization which wrangles with employers over minor matters and which is insignificant in comparison with the great political organization. The political Socialist could value the Trade-Union mainly as a field for recruiting new Socialist converts and could expect nothing more from an organization which, in his opinion, was to disappear after the triumph of Socialism and which could play but a subordinate part in the movement toward a Socialist victory to be brought about by capturing the political machinery of the State.

The change in the character of Socialism—its marked evolution in the direction of an exclusively political, peaceful, and legal movement—blazed into fire the embers of discontent which had slumbered in the breast of the militant Socialist working-man. The latter was alarmed by the success of political Socialism, which, in his opinion, was dangerous to the real success of the Social Revolution. The militant working-man suspected the environment of Parliament, its methods and political trickery, and felt in his heart a growing antagonism to a form of action which led the Socialists into the stifling embrace of "capitalist" parliamentary institutions. The militant Socialist working-man therefore began to look about for another form of social move-

ment which would embody his revolutionary spirit, preserve his hope of a speedy emancipation, and secure for him equality within the organization. He had groped for such a movement for years and years. He had organized secret revolutionary societies, he had tried Socialist cooperatives, he had attempted open revolt. But his previous attempts had been unsuccessful, and, furthermore, former methods were no longer applicable under the new conditions of the latter part of the nineteenth century. The militant working-man saw that the development of democracy and the expansion of industry had made necessary a form of organization which would be broad enough to include large masses and flexible enough to be capable of both political and economic action. Examining more closely the nature of the Trade-Union in which he had always played some part, the militant Socialist working-man was struck by the idea that it offered the form of organization he was so eagerly looking for and that it was capable of carrying on the social movement in which he placed his hopes. He therefore now changed his former attitude to the Trade-Union; instead of merely suffering it, he now began actively to support it and to shape it in accordance with his views and aspirations.

By a process of careful reasoning and under the influence of experience the militant Socialist workingman gradually developed the whole theory of syndicalism in which the syndicat—or labor union—is the basis, end, and means. The syndicat—according to this theory—is the organization which first brings the workingmen together, binds them by ties of common interest, develops in them the sentiment of solidarity, and consolidates them into a coherent self-conscious class. Organized in the syndicats, the workingmen are in a position to enter into a direct struggle with employers and the State for better conditions of life and work. Direct action—which the syndicalists so much insist upon—consists in exerting energetic pressure and coercion on the employers and the State in such a manner as to rally all the workers around one banner in direct opposition to existing institutions. Nation wide strikes, vehement agitation, public demonstrations, and like procedures, which arouse passions and shake up the mass of the workingmen, are in the view of the syndicalists the only method which can make the workingmen clearly perceive the evils and contradictions of present-day society and which lead to material successes. Such methods

alone drive home to the workingmen the truth that the emancipation of the workers must and can be the work of the workers themselves, and free the latter from the illusion that anybody else—even their representatives in Parliament—can do the job for them. By constantly bringing workingmen into open and sharp conflict with employers, direct action, in all its manifestations, necessarily undermines the foundations of existing society and fortifies the position of the working class. Every successful strike, every victory of labor—when gained by energetic pressure and direct action—is regarded by the syndicalists as a blow directed against capitalism and as a strategic point occupied by the workers on their way toward final emancipation. Reforms, therefore, gained and upheld by direct action do not strengthen existing society, but, on the contrary, dilapidate it and pave the way for a complete and violent social transformation.

The latter, in the opinion of the syndicalists, is inevitable. The direct struggle of the syndicats—argue they—increasing in scope and importance, must finally lead to a decisive collision in which the two antagonistic classes—the working class and the employers—will be brought face to face. How that decisive struggle will be begun cannot be foretold. But it most probably will have its origin in a strike which, spreading from industry to industry and from locality to locality, will involve the whole country and affect the entire nation. This will be the general strike, in which the issue will not be an increase of wages or any other minor matter, but the paramount social issue: who shall henceforth control industry and direct the economic activities of the nation?

The syndicalists will not wait for Parliament to decide that question, but will take matters into their own hands. When the “final hour of emancipation” strikes, the militant workingmen organized in the syndicats will step in and assume control of all means of production, transportation, and exchange. They will proclaim the common ownership of all means of production, and will start production under the direction of the syndicats. Every syndicat will have the use of the means of production necessary for carrying on its work. All syndicats of a locality will be organized in local federations which will have charge of all local industrial matters. These local federations of labor will collect all statistics pertaining to local production and con-

sumption, will provide the raw material, and will act as intermediaries between a locality and the rest of the country. All syndicats of the country in any one industry will be organized in a national industrial federation having charge of the special interests of the industry, while local federations and industrial federations will be organized in one great national federation of labor which will take care of matters national in scope and importance.

This ideal, according to the syndicalists, is not a scheme or a Utopia whose realization depends upon the good-will or wisdom of any individual or individuals. It is a social system gradually evolved by the synicalist movement and gradually prepared by the social struggles of today. The framework of the ideal society is being built every day by the growth of organizations among the workingmen, by the ever-spreading network of syndicats, local, industrial, and national federations. And the intellectual and moral qualities necessary for controlling society are gradually acquired by the workingmen in their organizations, in their struggle, and in their everyday experiences.

Here, in this theory, the militant workingman finally achieved the synthesis he was groping for. The Syndicat—or labor union—kept out the middle class “intellectual,” barred the politician, and made compromise impossible. On the other hand, it secured the leadership of the revolutionary workingman, brought him into a direct struggle with employers and the state, and offered him the image of his future ideal society. It prominently held before him the fact that his salvation lay in his own hands, in the weapons forged by himself, in direct action and the general strike. The syndicalist workingman could, therefore, now counteract the “pernicious” influence of the political Socialist and work for the social revolution in his own way and through his own organizations. The cause of the workingmen was now in safe hands, and his profound yearning for a speedy social emancipation was gratified.

There are several reasons why syndicalism first developed in France and why it achieved there its most notable success. France, before other countries, witnessed those changes in the character of Socialism which were described above. France was the first country to have a Socialist minister, M. Millerand, and to reveal the “demoralizing” effects of Parliament on the

Socialists. France, besides, is rich in revolutionary traditions which at all times fed the revolutionary feelings of the militant workingmen. Thirdly, the French syndicats began to develop only at the time when Socialism was becoming insufficient for the militant workingmen, and the latter had therefore little difficulty in capturing the syndicats. When the General Confederation of Labor (*La Confédération Général du Travail*) was formed in 1895, it was soon brought under the combined influence of Socialist and Anarchist workingmen, who steered the organization in the direction of revolutionary methods and syndicalist ideas. The success of the General Confederation was due to their energetic action and devotion, and the influence of their ideas grew in consequence. The General Confederation has grown steadily since 1902, and has now about 500,000 members. It consists of local and industrial federations which in their turn are composed of single syndicats, and presents, from the syndicalists' point of view, the embryo of the future society.

In England the situation is somewhat different. Syndicalists' ideas had their exponents among English workingmen before, and a syndicalist paper, the *Voice of Labor*, was published in 1907. But syndicalism did not make headway in England until Tom Mann, an experienced labor leader, was converted to the new ideas. Tom Mann had spent some years in the labor movement of Australia, and was disappointed by the slowness, uncertainty, and trickery of the political game which the Australian workingmen played in the hope of achieving their ends. He then went to France and underwent there the influence of the syndicalists. Since then Tom Mann has been actively propagating syndicalist ideas in England. He started a monthly, the *Industrial Syndicalist*, in 1910, and under his influence a syndicalist organization the *Industrial Syndicalist Education League*, was formed in Manchester toward the end of 1910. The *Syndicalist Education League* is now publishing the *Syndicalist*—a monthly devoted to the propaganda of syndicalism in England. The new ideas have found numerous adherents, particularly among the workingmen of the building trades, the transport workers, and the miners. In November, 1910, the English syndicalists held their first conference in Manchester, at which 60,000 workers were represented. Since then their

numbers have undoubtedly increased and new industrial groups have been gained. The recent strikes in England show that at least syndicalist forms of organization and methods are forced upon the workingmen by the powerful combinations of employers and by the rather ambiguous policy of the government. The further development of syndicalism in England will depend on the success with which the convinced syndicalists will be able to "bore from within" and to steer the trade unions in the direction of the new doctrine, while the success of their efforts will depend on economic and political conditions.

In America the specter of syndicalism first appeared in the Lawrence strike. The American syndicalists, the Industrial Workers of the World, who directed the strike in Lawrence, have been attracting more and more attention since and have been trying to make syndicalism a factor in American life. American syndicalism should not be regarded as an importation from France. Of course, American syndicalists have been more or less in contact with French syndicalists, but the movement has grown up on American soil and can be traced back to the Knights of Labor. The latter had already formed a vague idea of industrial organization which is so actively propagated by the Industrial Workers of the World. Craft unionism, however, carried the day in America after 1886, and achieved marked success in the development of the American Federation of Labor. The idea of industrial unionism, nevertheless, never died out, and in recent years has been gaining ground under the influence of favorable economic conditions. Finding support among Socialist workingmen, the idea of industrial unionism was combined with the Socialist conception, and a theory resembling French syndicalism in the most essential points was the result. This theory was made the basis of the program adopted by the I. W. W. in 1905.

The Industrial Workers of the World differ, however, from the French syndicalists in their attitude toward the general strike. The former conceive the social revolution not as a stoppage from work, but as a "staying at work." According to this idea the workingmen will one day declare the means of production common property, but, instead of leaving the factories, will stay there to continue production on a Socialist basis. The difference, however, is rather verbal, for any act having for

its purpose such a tremendous change will lead to the interruption of industrial activities at least for some time. The I. W. W. are, besides, more in favor of passive resistance and of other forms of struggle which, though less demonstrative and noisy than the methods of the French syndicalists, are believed to give the workers a strategic advantage over employers.

Syndicalism is primarily a working class movement having for its end the solution of the labor problem. But its plans are so far-reaching and involve such profound social changes that society as a whole is necessarily affected. What has, then, syndicalism to offer to those classes of society which are not occupied in manual labor?

The syndicalists have recently given some attention to this problem. They have solved it by extending the meaning of labor so as to include all productive work. Teachers, doctors, artists, clerks, and the like have been organized into syndicates and have joined the army of organized workers. The syndicalists propose to organize in the same way all those who do some useful work for society, or, as they express it, to "syndicalize" society. Their idea is to transform society into a federation of self-governing productive groups working together for the benefit of all with instruments belonging to society as a whole and under the supreme control of the community.

From the political point of view, therefore, syndicalism must be regarded as an attempt to transform the existing political state into an industrial federation. Syndicalism hopes thereby to do away with the arbitrary and coercive aspects of the modern state and to inaugurate an era of expert public service when every man will do his share of the work of society in that field alone in which his knowledge and skill are greatest.

Syndicalism is ready to fight any organization opposed to it and ambitious to absorb all that are friendly to it. It must, therefore, necessarily arouse the hostility not only of the conservative elements of society, but even of reformers and political Socialists.

Anarchy versus Socialism. William C. Owen

The object of this pamphlet is to set out in the very simplest language at our command, and with the most absolute fidelity to truth, the fundamental bases of Anarchy and Socialism. We believe that those who feel impelled to take an interest in the great social questions that are growling for solution wish to act intelligently and understand the direction in which they are heading.

All movements are inspired either with the spirit of Anarchy, urging the claims of the individual, or with that of Socialism, urging those of the collectivity; and it is impossible to have a clear or broad conception of the social movement of today, or of any single branch of it, without having first acquired a clear conception of what Anarchy and Socialism, respectively, have to say for themselves.

Anarchy is treated at the greatest length in this pamphlet for two reasons: First, because it is by far the less understood of the two philosophies; and secondly, because a full analysis of the Anarchist position will be found to have cleared the way for a consideration of the claims of Socialism.

When a man says he is an Anarchist he puts on himself the most definite of labels. He announces that he is a "no rule" man. "Anarchy"—compounded of the Greek words "ana," without, and "arche," rule—gives in a nutshell the whole of his philosophy. His own conviction is that men must be free; that they must own themselves, and be at full liberty to conduct their lives, free from the orders of alleged superiors.

Your life belongs to you and to you alone; no invader has the right to trespass on it. Similarly you have no right, because you fancy yourself a wiser, better, or specially privileged person, to trespass on the free development of another's life. Over that he, or she, is sovereign.

Anarchists do not propose to invade the individual rights of others, but they propose to resist, and do resist, to the best of their ability, all invasion by others. To order your own life, as a responsible individual, without invading the lives of others, is freedom; to invade the attempt to rule the lives of others is to constitute yourself an enslaver; to submit to invasion and rule imposed on you against your own will and judgment is to write yourself down a slave.

Essentially, therefore, Anarchism stands for the free, unrestricted development of each individual; for the giving to each equal opportunity of controlling and developing his own particular life. It insists on equal opportunity of development for all, regardless of color, race, or class; on equal rights to whatever shall be found necessary to the proper maintenance and development of individual life; or a "square deal" for every human being, in the most literal sense of the term.

Let us assure you that there is not an Anarchist in the world who will not agree with the above simple statement. On the necessity of Anarchy—a life free from external rule—as the fundamental proposition, all Anarchists are absolutely one.

Moreover, it matters not to the Anarchist whether the rule imposed on him is benevolent or malicious. In either case it is an equal trespass on his right to govern his own life. In either case the imposed rule tends to weaken him, and he recognizes that to be weak is to court oppression.

Every Anarchist holds it as fundamental that he can decide for himself better than the wisest can decide for him; for no one knows his abilities and needs as he himself knows them.

Anarchism, therefore, is the most clear-cut of words and, consequently, the most powerful. Men and movements are powerful just in proportion as they see distinctly what they want, and it is precisely because we Anarchists see so distinctly that all the exercisers, and the would-be exercisers, of power the world over are making common cause against us. Naturally, for our triumph means death to their rule.

It was inevitable that all exercisers, or would-be exercisers, of power should condemn in the most unqualified terms a philosophy so fatal to their pretensions. As they consider that they themselves keep the entire social machinery in motion, it was entirely natural that they should think and say: "Why! 'No rule' will produce general disorder"—and that they should at once twist the meaning of this most exact work, giving it the sense of universal chaos. The masses are governed far more by ingenious misrepresentation than by club or bullet.

Anarchism used to be called Individualism, and under that title it was considered more than respectable, being, in fact, regarded as the special creed of culture. But the term was weak, because it did not define. People called themselves Individualists just as they called themselves Liberals, without under-

standing what "individualism" really implied, or the freedom inherent in the word "liberalism." So, from the exact Greek language the precise and unmistakable word "Anarchy" was coined, as expressing beyond question the basic conviction that all rule of man by man is slavery.

The pages of the world's foremost teachers—its scientists, its philosophers, its poets, and dramatists—swarm with passages emphasizing the vital importance of liberty; the necessity of providing a favorable environment for each and every individual; the imperative demand for equality of opportunity for individual development; but in too many cases these writers fail to sum up the case and apply their principles to present conditions as we Anarchists sum them up and apply them.

The entire Anarchist movement is based on an unshakable conviction that the time has come for men—not merely in the mass, but individually—to assert themselves and insist on the right to manage their own affairs without external interference; to insist on the most literal "square deal," unhampered and unhandicapped by the intervention of self-asserted superiors."

"The Sabbath was made for man and not man for the Sabbath." We propose henceforth to make our own institutions and to be their masters. We have come to manhood. As our brains now command nature, it is high time that we should command ourselves. Naturally man is incomparably the most powerful of animals, able to bring into existence for himself all that is needed for a rich and ample life. But under the artificial conditions imposed on them by rulers, who portion out among themselves the means of life, millions of the powerful species known as "Man" are reduced to the conditions of abject helplessness of which a starving timber-wolf would be ashamed. It is unspeakably disgusting to us, this helplessness of countless millions of our fellow creatures; we trace it directly to stupid, unnatural laws, by which the few plunder and rule over the many, and we propose to do our part in restoring to the race its natural strength, by abolishing the conditions that render it at present so pitifully weak.

Every Anarchist is convinced that the death-knell of slavery—of government of man by man—is ringing; that the chrysalis of slavish dependence is breaking, and from it there is about to emerge the gorgeous butterfly of a free existence, in which each individual shall truly possess his, or her, own life, with all the infinite possibilities that life contains.

Every Anarchist holds that mankind has run, at last, the whole gamut of experience in government; tried it in every conceivable form, and found it invariably wanting.

For centuries we permitted the rule of the priest, and we were choked with ignorance. For centuries we tried the rule of the king, and we waded in our own blood. For the last century, or more, we have been experimenting with the rule of democracy—the bludgeoning by those unspeakable governors whom majorities, drunk with power, impose on vanquished minorities. This last is probably the worst of all, for we stand today steeped to the lips in a universal corruption that is rotting every nation to the core.

Is it not a fact that, whether it be a French deputy or an English member of Parliament; a Republican, a Democrat, or a Socialist candidate for office, each and every one of them sings exactly the same siren song: “Clothe *me* with power, and I will use it for *your* good”?

Why should you part with power, making yourselves impotent that a favored few may be omnipotent? By so doing you destroy the splendid equality of nature, which sends us all into the world equally naked; equipped with what would be, under natural conditions, practically equal possibilities of self-development? It is you yourselves, governed by the misrepresentations of superstition, and not daring to lift your heads and look life in the face, who substitute for that magnificent justice the hideously unjust inequalities with which society is sick well-nigh to death. Does not the experience of your daily life teach you that when, in any community, any one man is loaded with power it is always at the expense of many others, who are thereby rendered helpless? Do you not know that to be helpless means to be fleeced and flayed without mercy; to be hunted from land to land; to scour the farthest corners of the earth in a heart-breaking search for the opportunity to make a living? We describe in a few words the life of the proletariat, the workingman of today—that enormous class that has given away its natural powers and is paying such an awful penalty for this, the sin of sins, that nature punishes most unmercifully.

We have no other conception than that, so long as men remain powerless, they will be robbed remorselessly, and that no pity will be shown; for the simple reason that the robber, the strong man, in his heart of hearts despises his victim for his

weakness. We recognize that the sole remedy is for the weak to win back their natural position of power, abolishing the conditions of helplessness to which they have been reduced by artificial laws and unjust privileges.

The helplessness of the masses is not a subject for pity or milk-and-water charity, but for the strongest indignation that men should be so false to their destiny and such unspeakable traitors to their great Mother Nature, who, with infinite pains and through the evolution of countless ages, has raised them to a height at which they have infinite possibilities at command, which, in their cowardice, they spurn.

Do not flatter yourselves that you can shirk this imperative call to self-assertion by appointing deputies to perform the task that falls to you and to you alone. Already it is clear to all who have the courage to look facts in the face that the entire representative system, to which the workers so fatuously looked for deliverance, has resulted in a concentration of political power such as is almost without parallel in history.

Our entire representative system is the quintessence of farce. We take a number of men who have been making their living by some one pursuit—in most cases that of the law—and who know nothing outside that pursuit, and we require them to legislate on the ten thousand and one problems to which a highly diversified and intricate industrial development has given rise. The net result is work for lawyers and places for office-holders, together with special privileges for shrewd financiers who know well how to get little jokers inserted in measures that seem innocence itself and are always fatal to the people's rights.

The political Socialists are never weary of telling the public that the present economic system has broken down, and in this they are profoundly correct; for when a system has reached a point at which it can no longer supply the most elementary needs of large masses of men, it is bankrupt. But it seems pathetically strange to us that these same Socialists cannot see that their criticism of the economic system applies with still greater force to the entire political, representative system, which, whether regarded from the standpoint of honesty or of efficiency, has become a stench in the nostrils of all intelligent and fair-minded persons.

In economic matters the Socialists see clearly enough that a complete change—a true revolution—is needed, but they still

believe that things can be remedied by the election of a better set of deputies, although we have been laboring at that very thing for the last hundred years, and the situation has been growing steadily worse. Their great German leader, August Bebel, has told them in his celebrated book that "failure is ever the fate of the half and half." Indeed we think so.

Anarchy concentrates its attention on the individual, considering that only when absolute justice is done to him or her will it be possible to have a healthy and happy society. For society is merely the ordinary citizen multiplied indefinitely, and as long as the individuals of which it is composed are treated unjustly, it is impossible for the body at large to be healthy and happy. Anarchy, therefore, cannot tolerate the sacrifice of the individual to the supposed interests of the majority, or to any of those high sounding catchwords (patriotism, the public welfare, and so forth) for the sake of which the individual—and always the weakest individual, the poor, helpless workingman and woman—is murdered and mutilated today, as he has been for untold ages past.

Anarchy demands imperatively that full and complete justice shall be done to each and every individual; that there shall be accorded to all full and equal opportunities for the development, conduct, and enjoyment of their lives; and it declares, as an incontestable truth, that the first step toward this inevitable goal is the absolute overthrow of all those artificial and life-destroying privileges by which a favored few are today permitted to gather into their hands unbounded wealth and power at the price of the impoverishment and slaughter of the masses.

Let no one delude you with the fable that we Anarchists are opposed to cooperation; that we wish to reduce mankind to conditions of primitive isolation. On the contrary, we see with perfect clearness that the favored few, who have at their command the means of so doing, cooperate constantly on a larger and larger scale, as the improved methods of communication enable them more and more to make the world the scene of their operations. We understand thoroughly that it is only necessary to shake off the shackles of poverty and helplessness in order to enable mankind, as a whole, to rise to a vast, true, voluntary cooperation, in which the entire earth and its fruits will be used in the fullest, widest, and most economical way for

the satisfaction of the wants of the men, women, and children born into it.

We are of the firmest opinion that the only goal worthy of consideration by clear-sighted and earnest men and women is the winning of such individual freedom as will render possible such a cooperation as we have just described.

We hold that the bold, straight, and direct way will be found infinitely the shortest, easiest, and most successful. We are convinced that if any other course is pursued, and it is sought by a series of makeshift compromises to pave the way for changes to be wrought out in a vague and distant future, it will be discovered finally that the time so spent has been worse than wasted. Only by a direct attack on monopoly and special privilege; only by a courageous and unswerving insistence on the rights of the individual, whoever he may be; on his individual right to equality of opportunity; to an absolutely square deal; to a full and equal seat at the table of life, can this great social problem, with which the whole world now groans in agony, be solved.

In a word, the freedom of the individual, won by the abolition of special privileges and the securing to all of equal opportunities, is the *gateway through which we must pass to the higher civilization that is already calling loudly to us.*

It is urged that we Anarchists have no plans; that we do not set out in detail how the society of the future is to be run. This is perfectly true. We are not in the least inclined to waste our breath in guesses about things we cannot possibly know. We are not in the business of putting humanity in irons. We are trying to get humanity to shake off its irons. We have no cooperative commonwealth, cut and dried, to impose on the generations yet unborn. We are living men and women, concerned with the living present, and we recognize that the future will be as the men and women of the future make it, which will depend on themselves and the conditions in which they find themselves. If we bequeath to them freedom they will be able to conduct their lives freely, as the changed and improved conditions, brought about by the growth of human intelligence and the added mastery of nature that will spring from such intelligence, may dictate.

It is not for us to say that they shall live in such and such a form of cooperation or communism. It is only for us to open

to them the opportunities for leading the life that may satisfy them best. Our business is exclusively with the slavery that exists here and now, and it is a self-evident proposition that its roots lie in the rule of man over man; in the monopoly of opportunities; in the denial of equal rights; in the ignoring of the claims of the individual life.

But it is entirely possible for us, dealing as we do exclusively with the present, to analyze, accurately and fearlessly, the present; to point out the steps that must be taken; all of which mean the destruction of existing privileges.

Land monopoly must go. It must be recognized that every child of man is a full and equal partner in the resources that, by the very constitution of this universe, are necessary for the maintenance of human life; that without land we cannot exist, and that, to enable us to live a life free from tribute, we must have free access to land. This is absolutely fundamental. Until this is secured it is mockery to talk of the freedom of labor, for without being masters of the land we cannot possibly be free producers.

This is a truth so obvious that it is admitted by thousands of the followers of different reform schools, who otherwise have at present little in common; but how the end agreed on is to be reached, is the question. We can at least present what appear to us to be some of the methods by which the problem is likely to be solved. First, and before any results can be looked for, there must be brought into existence a far more general and burning conviction than there is at present that this question of the land is absolutely fundamental. When, by persistent and intelligent propaganda, this truth has been driven home to the more receptive minds, it is inevitable that it will crystallize into action, and probably along some such lines as these: Individuals and groups will squat on unoccupied land, held by speculators, and will refuse to vacate. The poor will resist eviction more and more. Dwellers in the slums of such cities as New York, whose lives are one continual struggle to keep body and soul together, will decline to give up a large portion of their had-earned wages to satisfy the demands of absentee idlers. From the conflict between the authorities endeavoring to enforce the law and those who take their stand on human rights further agitation of this gigantic crime against the race will result, and the necessity of acceptance and carrying

into practice the doctrine that the earth is for the use of those who, for the time being, find themselves living upon it, will be driven still deeper into the public conscience.

We think it waste of time to discuss at present the measures by which the individual will be ultimately secured of this paramount right, since it is obvious that the first step is the awakening of the public conscience and intellect. The movement must for a long time to come work itself out as it may, receiving constant impetus from such direct action as we have just described.

All honest, intelligent, and courageous action along one line of the great struggle for human rights helps thought and action along other lines, and the contest that is certain to come over the land question cannot but clear the field in other directions. It will be seen, for example, that freedom of production will not suffice without freedom of distribution,—which is only the final process of production,—and the road will be made plain for a consideration of the money and other monopolies that reign supreme in that great department of human activity, thanks to the special privileges that government confers upon them.

It will be seen also that it is ridiculous for us to talk about free and equal citizens when one child is permitted to be born into the world heir to millions, entitled by law to levy tribute for the rest of his life on thousands who will never have a chance of rising from poverty. It is evident, therefore, that the unnatural law of inheritance—whereby the dead bind the living—must wither before the light of criticism, and this even our president sees.

With the growing sense of the dignity of human life and the claims of the individual must necessarily come an ever louder demand for the abolition of existing methods of punishment, founded, as they are, not on the principle of reforming the alleged criminal, but on that of revenge. They are a burning disgrace to humanity; are rapidly dragging us back to conditions of savagery, and cannot stand a moment's inspection.

With the increasing appreciation of the value of the individual life will come an increasingly drastic criticism of all those schools of thought that bid the oppressed be contented with their lot, and that are summed up in the spectacle afforded by those truly bloodless fanatics who can find it in their hearts

to visit the workers of the slums, and the prisoners in the modern hells we call "penitentiaries," and exhort them to thank God for his mercies. The religion of submission will receive its death-blow. It is a craven, skulking thing, utterly incompatible with the dignity of man or with the energy and courage which nature demands of those who desire to rise.

There will come also a drastic criticism of that vast army of lawyers and chronic office-holders who, by their unfortunate training and the necessities of their profession, can see only what the legal code demands, and are insuperably blind to the higher code of life.

What, then, is our actual position? We stand for the realities of life, as opposed to fine phrases on which the people starve; for the omnipotent laws of life, as opposed to the distorted and perverted views we have inherited from a barbaric past, dominated by the fantastic theories of priests and kings, under which the few have reigned supreme and the masses have been mud, trampled remorselessly under foot. From those dark ages we are only just beginning to emerge,—*but we are emerging.*

The task is gigantic, but it is inevitable. If mankind is ever to be master of itself, scientific thought,—which deals with realities and bases its conclusions on ascertained facts,—must take the place of guess and superstition. To bring the ~~product~~ of human life into accord with the ascertained facts of life is, at bottom, the great struggle that is going on in society, and in this great struggle we Anarchists—we say it confidently—stand in the very front rank.

We are not engaged in any such petty, trivial business as that of building up a political party, that would have its little hour of popularity and obnoxious power, and then stand, an irritating stumbling block, needing removal.

Our work is solely and exclusively to drive home to the intellects and consciences of the people at large, regardless of classes, the conception of a nobler, richer, and infinitely happier life, possible under conditions of freedom, economic and political, and possible under them alone. What we are doing is to point out the gateway through which the people must *first* pass, before they can hope, by any possibility, to attain a life that is worth having and establish that absolutely free, voluntary cooperation, in which each stands on his own feet, the equal partner of all with whom he, or she, desires to enter partnership. *Liberty, and*

liberty alone, can beget the true order and harmony of true cooperation.

It is absolutely self-apparent to us that when men find themselves relieved of their present burden of artificial, unnatural, anti-social, and intrinsically barbarous laws, they will then, and for the first time, have within their grasp the potentiality of building a true civilization along the lines sketched out in the Declaration of Independence, wherein each human being will have full and equal opportunities for the enjoyment of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

Our movement is a genuine "Abolitionist" movement. It stands for the abolition of barbaric institutions and laws that come between man and the realization of a full and joyous life. It is the legitimate child of that Abolition movement which resulted in the overthrow of chattel slavery, and we have great confidence that the time is near at hand when this country will comprehend that fact and prove true to her past history.

It is only the most thoughtless who can fail to see that as intelligence grows there also grows, at a geometrical ratio, the longing for a life in which the individual shall have the opportunity of guiding his life by the light of his own reason, in which he is acquiring more and more confidence. And every step which he takes in this direction—which is surely that of advance and progress—is carrying him toward Anarchy—for, as has been shown already, the basis of the Anarchist's philosophy is the belief that reason and not compulsion should be the motive power. It is inevitable that there should be this tendency, and an examination of the world around us shows that the tendency exists and is growing at a prodigious rate.

Everywhere men and women are becoming more and more restless under control. They reject authority; they demand the right to think for themselves; they dislike more and more to be told what they must and what they must not do. They rebel more and more against the attempt to put their lives into a strait-jacket, whether it be the strait-jacket of the workshop or creed; the restriction of a law imposed on them without their consent, or a marriage tie that is irksome to them. And it is particularly noticeable that this rebellion against authority is most marked among women, who have not had the suffrage, showing, as it does, that the spirit of revolt has risen as something entirely apart from legislative activities. There is abso-

lutely no comparison between the free-thinking, free-acting woman of today and the patient, long-suffering housewife of only a generation or two ago.

In short, although it may appear, at first sight, that this is the day of great collectivist movements, it will be found on examination that these movements are all participated in by individuals who hope that by means of them they, as individuals, will secure personal, individual advantages along the line of greater individual liberty and happiness; and that whenever they discover that these advantages cannot be so obtained, they drop such movements. The mainspring of all the agitation that is rocking the world today is the hunger for individual freedom and prosperity, and it is this on which our movement relies—on individual wants, individual aspirations, individual action—the irrepressible individual, from and through whom all chance must come.

We pass to a consideration of Socialism.

Attention has been called already to the precise and clear-cut character of the word "Anarchy"; that it means "without rule," and that it cannot be construed to mean anything else. Most unfortunately the word "Socialism" has not this clear-cut character. Socialism merely means association, and a Socialist is one who believes in associated life and effort. Immediately a thousand questions of the greatest difficulty arise. Obviously there are different ways in which people can associate; some of them delightful, and some quite the reverse. It is delightful to associate yourself, freely and voluntarily, with those to whom you feel attracted by similarity of tastes and pursuits. It is torture to be herded compulsorily among those with whom you have nothing in common. Association with free and equal partners, working for a common end in which all are alike interested, is among the things that make life worth living. But the association of men who are compelled by the whip of authority to live together in an army, sharing the same table, the same room, and forced to be in each other's company day after day, even when their personal relations are bitterly hostile, is about as near hell as it is possible to get.

To be associated in governmentally conducted industries, whether it be as soldier or sailor, as railroad, telegraph, or postal employee, is to become a mere cog in a vast political machine, and this seems to us as undesirable an ideal as any party ever

laid before the public in its struggle to catch votes. Under such conditions there would be less freedom than there is even now, under the régime of private monopoly; the workers would abdicate all control of their own lives and become a flock of party sheep, rounded up at the will of their political bosses, taking what those bosses chose to give them, and, in the end, being thankful to be allowed to hold a job on any terms, however humiliating. A more undesirable ideal we cannot imagine, and we say confidently that the more closely it is examined the more undesirable it will appear.

Let none delude himself with the fallacy that governmental institutions under Socialist administration would be shorn of their present objectionable features. They would be precisely what they are today. If the workers were to come into possession of the means of production tomorrow, their administration under the most perfect form of universal suffrage—which we attained in this country years ago and have been vainly trying to doctor into decent shape for generations past—would simply result in the creation of a special class of political managers, professing to act for the welfare of the majority. Were they as honest as the day—which it is folly to expect—they could only carry out the dictates of the majority, and those who did not agree slavishly with those dictates would find themselves outcasts. In reality we should have put a special class of men in absolute control of the most powerful official machine that the world has ever seen, and should have installed a new form of wage slavery, with the State as master. And the working-man who found himself ill-used by the State would find it a master a thousand times more difficult to overthrow than the most powerful of private employers. The plain, bottom truth is that all these schemes and high-sounding platforms amount to nothing; they are merely the molasses with which the flies are caught by those who have become inoculated with the poison of political ambition; with the desire to shine as orators, writers, or administrators. The institutions, economical and political, of any set of people do not depend on written documents—witness the purely Anarchistic Declaration of Independence of these United States, which is the deadest of all dead letters—but upon the individual characters of the individuals who compose that set of people.

If the people are infused with the genuine revolutionary

spirit, they will *win* freedom and so mold and simplify their institutions that tyranny will be impossible. Contrariwise, so long as they think they can shirk the question and enjoy all the inestimable blessings of freedom while remaining timid sheep, avoiding all personal danger and trusting to a few politicians to pull the chestnuts out of the fire for them, they will be doomed to perpetual disappointment. No truer words were ever uttered than those of Shakespeare when he says: "Alas, poor Caesar! Caesar would not be a wolf if Romans were not sheep." Always and everywhere it is the sheep who beget the wolves that prey on them.

Our quarrel with the Socialists, therefore, is not a matter of platforms, pronunciamentos, or doctrinaire tweedledums and tweedledees, all of which amount to nothing, but on the truly vital question of the spirit of the whole movement for emancipation from conditions which are universally admitted to be intolerable. The Socialists declare loudly that the entire capitalistic system is slavery of the most unendurable type, and that land-owning, production, and distribution for private profit must be abolished. They preach a class war as the only method by which this can be accomplished, and they proclaim, as fervently as ever did a Mohammendant calling for a holy crusade against the accursed infidel, that he who is not with them is against them. For this truly gigantic undertaking they have adopted a philosophy and pursue means that seem to us childishly inadequate.

To us it is inconceivable that institutions so deeply rooted into the savagery and superstition of the past can be overthrown except by a people that have become saturated to the very marrow of their bones with loathing for such superstition and such savagery. To us the very first and absolutely indispensable step is the creation of profoundly rebellious spirits, powerful individualities who will make no truce, no compromise. We recognize quite clearly that it is worse than useless to waste our breath on effects; that the causes are what we must go for, and that every form of monopoly, every phase of slavery and oppression, has its root in the ambition of the few to rule and fleece, and the sheepish willingness of the many to be ruled and fleeced.

It is self-evident to us that the real fight is against this double tendency, and that all authoritarianism hangs together and is of the same piece of cloth, however different may appear

the fantastic figures into which it is cut. The superstition diligently taught by the priest—Roman Catholic, Greek Catholic, Protestant, or what not—is the lie that upholds the divine right of the king and the privilege of the politician. The patience, humility, and submission to injustice taught from the pulpit are the sheet-anchor of the monopolist who corners the necessities of life while thousands starve, and justifies the bayonet of the soldier and the club of the policeman.

By the very constitution of our being thought must always precede action; the hand can only execute what the brain has previously dictated. So long as the Russian peasant really believes that the Tsar is his Little Father, the earthly representative of his God in heaven, Russian autocracy is safe. So long as the American believes that it is right that a Weyerhauser, a Rockefeller, or a Morgan shall gather the four corners of the land into his grasp, and that laws that justify processes so deadly to the life of the masses are sacred and must be upheld and obeyed, so long is the present regime absolutely safe. And if the proletariat does not know this, its masters do. For how comes it that whenever you find a monopolist or a politician greedy for power, there also you will find a pillar of the church, a loud-mouthed applauder of the gentlemen in uniform, and a champion at any cost of what is called, with unspeakable irony, "law and order"?

Now, what is the course that the Socialists are pursuing in the political campaigns to which their entire movement has dwindled? In private they will tell you that they are rebels against the existing unnatural disorder as truly as are we Anarchists, but in the actual conduct of their movement they are autocratic kaisers, bent on the suppression of all individuality, whipping, drilling, and disciplining their recruits into absolute conformity with the iron-clad requirements of the party. In private they will tell you that they hold precisely the views that we have just expressed respecting the support that the superstition taught from the pulpit gives to the present system, but in public they are compromising with the church at every turn, and one of the most marked features of their movement today is the number of ministers who are to be found in its ranks. In other words, to the political Socialist the gaining of a church vote is of infinitely greater importance than the exposure and overthrow of superstition, and this view we pronounce absolutely fatal.

The same line of thought applies to the tolerance shown toward our monstrous legal system, without which it would have been impossible for them to have won to their party the host of lawyers who now play such a prominent and pernicious part in its councils.

They declare themselves occupied with a campaign of education. They are not. In such a contest as this, wherein the lines are drawn so sharply; where on the one side are ranged the natural laws of life, and on the other an insanely artificial system that ignores all the fundamental laws of life, there can be no such things as compromise; and he who for the sake of getting votes attempts to make black appear white, is not an educator but a confidence man. We are aware that there are many confidence men who grow into the belief that theirs is a highly honorable profession, but they are confidence men all the same.

Of course, the truth is that the Socialists have become the helpless victim of their own political tactics. We speak correctly of political "campaigns," for politics is a warfare conducted, by the necessity of the case, in strict accordance with the rules of military science. Its object is to get power by gathering to its side the majority, and then to overwhelm the weaker minority and reduce it to absolute submission. The majority in power then passes the laws that suit its interests, and to these the conquered have to bend the knee, in the name of "law and order."

In politics, as in every other branch of war, the entire armory of spies, treachery, stratagem, and deceit of every kind is utilized to gain the one-important end—victory in the fight. And it is precisely because our modern democracy is engaged, year in and year out, in this most unscrupulous warfare that the basis and all-essential virtues of truth, honesty, and the spirit of fair play have almost disappeared.

The Socialists—the self-styled "Scientific Socialists," if you please—think they have done a wonderfully clever thing in plunging into this most demoralizing strife. We Anarchists, on the other hand, are well satisfied to maintain a position in which we can investigate freely and tell the people with absolute fidelity the truth of our investigations; in which we are not forced to lie that we may curry favor; in which we have no party to bolster up by all and every means, and no frenzied dreams of power to distract us from realities.

While we know, for the reasons given above, that the late Senator Ingalls spoke an incontestable truth when he said that "the purification of politics is an iridescent dream," we realize further that if politics could, by any miracle, be purified, it would mean, if possible, a still more detestable consummation, for there would not remain a single individual right that was not helplessly at the mercy of the triumphant majority. It is imperative, and especially for the weaker—those who are now poor and uneducated—that the "inalienable" rights of man be recognized; and that, just as he is now "supposed" to be guaranteed absolute right of free speech and assemblage, and the right to think on religious matters as he pleases, so in the future he shall be guaranteed the fullest opportunities of supporting and developing his life—a right that cannot be taken away from him by a dominant party that may have chanced to secure, for the time being, the majority of votes.

This is the rock on which Socialism everlastingly goes to pieces. It mocks at what are to us the basic laws of life. It denies, both openly and tacitly, that there are such things as individual rights, and, while it asserts that assuredly, as civilized beings, the majorities of the future will grant the minority far greater freedom and opportunity than it has at present, it has to admit that all this will be a "grant," a "concession" from those in power. There probably never has been a despot that waded through slaughter to a throne who has not made similar promises.

We are well aware that there are many Socialists who, while members of the existing political party, think lightly of it, and pin their faith to the triumph of organized labor that shall seize control of the industries in which it is engaged and administer them on a truly democratic basis. But, granting, for the sake of argument, that such a program should ever be realized, it is open to all the objections just urged, if the Socialist philosophy that denies the sanctity of individual rights should prevail. In each trade we then should have the majority machine in power, and the individuals—who were so unfortunate as to belong to the minority—in a position where they would be merely "conceded" the right to live.

Always and everywhere, no matter what the economic system or institution may be, the way in which a man looks at a subject will determine his treatment of it. If he thinks, with

the Socialists, that the collectivity is everything and the individual an insignificant cipher, he will fall in willingly with all those movements that profess to be working for the good of the majority, and sacrifice the individual remorselessly for this supposed good. For example: Although he may admit, in theory, as the Socialists generally do, that men should be permitted to govern their own lives, his belief in legislating for the majority, and the scant value that he puts on the individual life, will lead him to support such movements as that of prohibition, which, in the name of the good of the majority, takes away from the individual, absolutely and in a most important matter,—as in the question of what he shall and shall not drink,—the command of his own life.

As a matter of fact, the ranks of the Socialist party in this country are today full of prohibitionists, men and women who, while declaring that they are working for the *emancipation* of the human race, see nothing inconsistent in proposing to take away from it all self-government in this one particular. It is on record that a resolution committing the party to prohibition as nearly as possible slipped through at its recent national convention in Chicago.

There is nothing to be surprised at in this. It is the direct and logical result of the one-sided view that the ordinary Socialist takes of the social question. He sees only the collectivity. In his thought it is on the action of the collectivity that the entire solution of the social question depends. The society of the future is to him one in which everything will be done by the collectivity, acting as a social unit, and in his mental horizon the individual and his rights are thrown into absolute eclipse.

Platform and declarations of principles count for nothing. A man may belong to a party that prints "emancipation" in the biggest of letters as being its aim; he may have emancipation perpetually on his lips, but, if he approaches the consideration of social questions seeing only the collectivity and thinking slightly, or not at all, of the sanctity of the individual, he will step down, and down, and down on what is really the road of tyranny. The same line of thought that makes him willing that the individual should be put into the strait-jacket of prohibition—for the alleged good of the majority (a majority that, under such circumstances, would be a worthless rabble of masters and

slaves)—will bring him to ready acquiescence in all that monstrous legislation that makes our modern civilization a hell on earth for the poor, who are ordered here and restricted there, and denied all access to the natural opportunities of life, in the name of the public good.

Such a man will readily be brought to think, by the arguments of those who are seeking their own advantage, that for the good of the majority it is necessary that all should be taxed to support a large standing army and navy, which will defend the fatherland; and it will not be difficult to take him a step further and convert him into a warm advocate of military conscription. He will be easily persuaded that our barbaric treatment of criminals is necessary and highly desirable, by reason of the deterrent influence it exercises, for the protection and welfare of the majority. He will persuade himself that religion is a necessity, for the good of the masses, and should be accorded all the special privileges it now enjoys. Shortly you will find him with the crowd that clamors for the closing of all places of amusements on Sunday—for the good of the community.

In economic matters you will find him, for example, indorsing such a monstrosity as our protective tariff, which, in the name of the good of the majority, takes from the individual his natural right of spending his earnings where he can do the best with them; taxes the great masses for the enrichment of the privileged few, and necessarily has resulted in the accumulation of those gigantic fortunes against which the whole world is today in revolt.

In a word, the man may shout emancipation until he is black in the face, and may be a prominent member of a party that does so, but, in reality, he and his party are both reactionaries of the most pronounced type; indorsing today, or ripe to indorse tomorrow, every piece of vicious class legislation that recommends itself for the moment as affording a promise of relief. At such a mere shadow of a bone in the water dogs of this breed invariably will grasp.

Apparently Socialists cannot conceive of a society run on other than the most strictly centralized principles. This seems to us a profound error.

The most important and powerful factor in production and every form of activity is the human factor. This factor, longing

more and more for the opportunity of individual expression, is in constant rebellion against all efforts to reduce it to the level of a mere cog in a machine, economical or political. Being by far the strongest element it inevitably will win its way, sooner or later, no matter how adverse the conditions for the moment may seem to be.

It may have appeared within recent times as if the tide were setting in permanently toward centralization; but, in reality, the forces of decentralization, that make the man becoming—as he should be—the master instead of the slave of the machine, are sweeping irresistibly forward. The excessive and unnatural centralization, due entirely to the artificial laws of special privilege, which has resulted, for example, in the steel trust, has had the effect of releasing a vast army of skilled and highly ingenious mechanics, whose wits have been industriously at work devising simpler and simpler machinery which it will be possible for the individual to own and operate. For instance, all the splendid equipment of the Steel Trust cannot manufacture today such an article as a screw as cheaply as can a single individual, operating single-handed a machine that he can run in one small room.

We are not in the business of prophesying, but the notorious fact that the Steel Trust has been steadily unloading its stock on employees and the outside public is itself significant as indicating that the men at the head of these monstrous consolidations are well aware that they are destined to break down of their own weight.

Locomotion is the industry of all others that seemed, by its very nature, doomed to centralization; yet even in this department the tide of decentralization has set in with extraordinary rapidity. With the advent of the bicycle came the first break, the individual machine becoming at once a formidable competitor of the street car companies. The tendency received a further and enormous impetus with the introduction of the automobile, which throws every highway open to the individual owner of the machine, and does away with the immense advantage previously enjoyed by those who had acquired the monopoly of the comparatively few routes along which it is possible to lay down rails and operate trains. It is obvious that the automobile, both as a passenger and freight carrier, is as yet only in its infancy, and it is equally certain that if the

flying machine shall become an accomplished fact, as now seems highly probable, the individualism of locomotion will be complete. Have you any idea of the enormous changes that this will involve in industrial and social life?

In short, the philosophy that bases its conclusions on the conditions that happen to prevail at any given moment in the machine industry is necessarily building on the most shifting of quicksands, since the machine itself is the most fluctuating of all things, and is undergoing a veritable revolution along the individualistic lines we have indicated.

But this delusion respecting machinery has led the Socialists into the most ridiculous assumptions on the subject of centralization in general, committing them for a couple of generations past to the wild pipe dream that under the régime of capitalism the middle class is doomed, by the natural development of the economic system, to speedy extinction. The fallacy of this position has been shown over and over again by irrefutable statistics, taken from governmental income tax and similar returns, but it is unnecessary even to quote figures in this matter. Any one who will take the trouble to put on his observation cap can see clearly for himself that in such countries as Mexico and Russia, where what is known as the capitalistic system is at present in its infancy, the middle class is small in numbers and insignificant in power. On the other hand, precisely in proportion as the capitalistic system develops, the numbers and influence of the middle class increase, until here in America—the country in which capitalism has attained its greatest growth—it is this very middle class that is well nigh omnipotent. To what frightful mistakes in tactics is a party doomed that bases itself on so gross and palpable an error!

The same tendency—the rebellion of the individual human factor against the centralizing influences that seek to convert him into a mere cog in a machine—is equally apparent in the political field. Necessarily, as education progresses, the individual voter becomes more and more desirous of relying on his own judgment he is less willing to vote the Republican and Democratic ticket for the old reason that his father and his grandfather before him did so; he takes other papers and attends other meetings than those in which only the one creed is preached; he becomes more independent.

The growing importance of the independent vote, that is emancipating itself from machine dominance and has to be more and more studied and placated by the party managers, is one of the recognized features of modern life, and in this matter the political Socialists have set their faces directly against the tide of progress, for their ideal is unquestionably the creation of a party that shall be thoroughly disciplined and entirely under the domination of the centralized machine. Hence the continual expulsion of all the more independent spirits that have the courage to think for themselves and voice, however, timidly, views unwelcome to the truly papal infallibility that it is the aim of the managers to establish. More damnable treason to the cause of progress, of free thought and emancipation we are incapable of imagining; and this is in itself entirely sufficient to condemn once and for all, in the eyes of all true lovers of human liberty, the pretensions of the Socialist party.

On a still larger scale the same tendency for individual expression is manifest in the affairs of nations, the frantic struggles of the weaker nationalities to break away from the crushing, intolerable centralized domination of great and despotic empires being one of the most pronounced developments of modern times. With all these efforts we Anarchists sympathize profoundly, and to them we lend all the aid in our power, recognizing the claims of individual life that is struggling desperately for expression. But, whatever they may say here and there and from time to time, for the purpose of catching votes and strengthening their political power, the Socialists do not truly and whole-heartedly sympathize with such efforts, and they cannot, because they are wedded to the doctrine of centralization of power and the suppression of the individual for the supposed good of the larger collective body.

Such a pamphlet as this is no place for scholastic disquisitions, but those who have studied the works of such profound writers as Herbert Spencer, Buckle, Sir Henry Maine, and others too numerous to mention, are well aware that the history taught the Socialists through Marx and Engels is partisan history, and that the real movement of humanity has been to get away from the military régime of authority to the domain of individual freedom. It is this movement with which we have allied ourselves, convinced that there is nothing too fine

for man, and that it is only under conditions of freedom that man has the opportunity of being fine. The tendency must be toward a finer, which means a freer, more self-governing life.

It is for you, the individual reader of this treatise, to decide with which of these two conflicting forces you will align yourself, for between freedom—of thought, speech, and action—and authority there can be no compromise. The battle is to the finish and is today on as never before in the world's history.

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Private Property and Personal Liberty in the Socialist State.

John Spargo

The most persistent and widespread antagonism toward Socialism springs from a belief that, under a Socialist régime, private property in all its forms would be destroyed and personal liberty made impossible by the rule of an immense bureaucratic government. All other objections, it may be said without denying their force, are subordinate to these two.

The modern Socialist, whether dogmatic Marxist or neo-Marxist, indignantly denies both charges contained in this criticism. The greater its persistence, the greater his vehemence. Not unreasonably, he claims the right to define the Socialist ideal in which he believes and to interpret it in his own way: he refuses to accept the *dicta* of the enemies of Socialism as to its meaning. But, in spite of indignant denials, the criticism prevails.

For the almost universal prevalence of this criticism there must be some other reason than malice on the part of the critics. Underlying the seeming malevolence there is always a very real belief in the disaster to the institutions of private property and personal liberty which must attend the triumph of Socialism. Instead of hatred creating the belief that a Socialist régime is incompatible with personal freedom and with private property, the belief, deep-seated and sincere, however mistaken it may prove to be, creates the hatred. It must be remembered, also, that the belief is not confined to the malevolent opponents of Socialism and Socialist aims. Many who are very sympathetic toward the movement and the ideal, a great army of the "almost per-

suaded," are held back from giving their adherence to the movement through fear that the criticism is well founded.

The existence of such a widely prevalent belief must be the result of causes inherent either in the principles of Socialism or in the history of the movements based upon those principles. It is, therefore, only just that the Socialist, when he makes his sweeping denial that Socialism involves the suppression of private property and personal liberty, should be asked to explain the persistence of the fear he declares to be groundless—and this only as a prelude to an equally just demand for a reasoned statement of his own faith, so different to the unfaith of the world.

The frank and sincere Socialist will be slow to attribute the criticism to malice. He will, on the contrary, be disposed to admit that it is a perfectly natural result of certain phases of the evolution of Socialism and the development of its propaganda. He will admit, with entire good faith, that Socialists have given their opponents ample warrant for believing that with the coming of Socialism private property and personal liberty must cease. No small part of the work of the Socialists of today consists in undoing the work of an older generation of Socialists.

Proudhon's famous dictum, "Property is robbery," and its counterpart, "Property-holders are thieves," have been so many times reiterated by Socialists, and so often inscribed upon their banners, that no sort of blame attaches to those persons who, taking the words at their face-value in the currency of human speech, have concluded that Socialism must abolish all kinds of private property. Phrases like "the socialization of property" abound in the literature of Socialism, and in more than a few Socialist programs, issued in this country and elsewhere, Socialism is objectively defined as "the social ownership and control of all the means of production, distribution and exchange." The definition certainly justifies the belief that the existence of a Socialist state depends upon the abolition of private property.

Taking the definition literally, it is evident that under Socialism nothing which could be used as a means of producing or distributing wealth could be privately owned. No man could own a spade, a hammer or even a jack-knife, for these are all instruments of production. No woman could own a sewing-machine, or even a needle, for these are tools, means of production. No man could own a wheelbarrow, no woman could own

a market-basket, these being "means of distribution." The differences between a spade and a steam-plough, between a market-basket and a delivery van, are differences in the degree of their efficiency merely.

Now, it is quite evident that, if we are to accept this definition literally and to regard "the social ownership and control of *all* the means of production, distribution and exchange" as a *sine qua non* of Socialism, we must accept the verdict that it would destroy the institutions of personal property and liberty. The amount of property which would not come within the scope of the classification, "all means of production, distribution and exchange," is almost a negligible quantity, and it is certain that such a vast bureaucratic system of government would be needed as would practically extinguish personal liberty. It requires little imagination to see how intolerable the despotism would be if needles, spades, sewing-machines and market-baskets were to be under the control of governmental bureaus.

But, when challenged upon this important matter, the modern Socialist denies that the social ownership and control of *all* the agencies of production and distribution is a *sine qua non* of Socialism. He denies that his aim is anything of the kind. Socialism, he says, implies the social ownership and control only of certain kinds of property, certain very definite categories of productive and distributive agencies. Under Socialism, as he conceives it, private property would coexist with social property. Indeed, his claim is that Socialism, in very important respects, would extend both private property and personal liberty.

Therefore, the question arises: What things, under Socialism, will it be necessary to socialize and what to leave in the hands of private owners?

The reply to this question may take either of two forms: either we may attempt to catalog the things which would have to be socialized in order to realize Socialism—a stupendous task—or we may attempt to state the principle of differentiation in a manner permitting its ready application to any form of property, at any time, and in any place. This latter is, indeed, the only practical method of dealing with the question. Not only is the former method a cumbersome one, involving the gigantic task of making an inventory of all kinds of property, but endless revision of the list would be necessary to make it conform to changing conditions and to the needs of particular localities.

Preliminary to the attempt to state the principles of differentiation, however, a brief discussion of the nature of property seems to be necessary. If we ask ourselves, What is Property? and, instead of repeating Proudhon's classic epigrammatic reply, attempt to answer the question with the seriousness it demands, we shall soon discover that much of what we have regarded as a concrete entity is, in fact, a mere abstraction: that property is not a tangible thing, in a vast number of instances, but an assumed relation. We shall discover, too, that there are no absolute property rights anywhere.

While it is true that the recognition of private property marks the emergence of mankind from savagery, and that civilization is commonly said to rest upon that recognition, the paradox is nevertheless true that civilization and private property, in an absolute sense, are incompatible. The jurisprudence of all civilized countries rests upon the repudiation of absolute property rights of any kind whatever. Taxation is, of course, a familiar example of the collective disregard of private property rights. All kinds of property have been subjected to taxation, the collective authority exercising the right to take any part of any man's property, or even the whole of it. Henry George's proposal to impose a tax upon land values equal to the sum total of such values is a perfectly logical extension of the principle of taxation. A few years ago, the city council of Copenhagen, Denmark, applied the method to the street railways of that city with entire success so that the owning companies were glad to surrender the lines.

The powers of domain and ultimate ownership which underlie the jurisprudence of every civilized nation prove conclusively that there is no allodial property in land, nor any form of absolute private property. A state or municipality desires land which is the "property" of one of its citizens for some public purpose, such as building a hospital or a bridge, making a park or a roadway. The "owner" of the land does not agree to sell it, whereupon the state or the municipality takes the land from him —often at its own valuation! Even when the land is needed by a quasi-private corporation, such as a railway company, the collective power is used to take away the ownership of the land from one citizen and transfer it to others.

It is very commonly assumed that this power of ultimate ownership resting in society, through its government, applies only

to land; but, in fact, no form of property is exempt from it. Not only may all forms of property be taxed, but likewise all forms of property may be sequestered. The power exercised in times of martial law, of seizing food and other supplies, is an example of this. Under the police powers of all civilized communities, in case of serious accident or disaster, the home of any person, and anything it contains, may be lawfully seized and used. Suppose that, during the San Francisco earthquake and fire, the "owner" of a supply of food or drugs, or any other vital necessity, should have clung to them, asserting his "ownership," does any sane person believe that he would have been permitted to enforce his sacred "rights" against the need of the community? Nothing, not even one's pocket handkerchief, can be said to be exempt from this ultimate power of society. If, therefore, one's handkerchief is not taken away from him, it is simply because the community does not desire to take it. In the last analysis, private property is an abstraction. It consists of nothing more than a relation between the community and the citizen, and rests upon nothing more tangible than community good-will.

Furthermore, in the development of capitalist society the *substance* of private property tends to disappear, quite irrespective of the enforcement of the ultimate powers of ownership by society. Prior to the formation of joint-stock companies, in the era of individual capitals, the investor who invested his money in a ship or a factory could say that the ship or the factory belonged to him. But with the coming of the joint stock company and the development of the great industrial corporations, that could not be said. Suppose X to be a shareholder in a corporation which owns a cotton-mill. There are a thousand shareholders owning between them the ten thousand shares of stock of the corporation. X owns ten shares. But he does not own a one-thousandth part of the physical properties of the cotton-mill in any real sense. He could not, for instance, go into the mill and say: "Here are a thousand looms: one belongs to me. I will take it away."

What X really owns is a one-thousandth part of every brick in the building, not a single whole brick; a one-thousandth part of each cog in every machine, but not a single whole wheel; a one-thousandth part of every yard of cotton, but not a single yard of actual cotton. X could not realize his own property, separate it from that of the other nine-hundred and ninety-nine

shareholders and do as he pleased with it. To get at his one-thousandth part of a brick, he must destroy the whole brick. To actually realize his own property as a physical entity, he must destroy it and the property of his fellows. And then, paradoxically (for the whole capitalist system is a paradox), he does not realize it at all. When he has destroyed the brick and extracted his one-thousandth part of it, he does not own a one-thousandth part of a brick, but only some fragments of burned clay.

However we look at it, private property under our present social system is an abstraction. The property of the citizen in the immense assets of the state of New York, or of the United States is just as real as the property of the shareholder in the United States Steel Corporation. But there is this important difference, that the citizen's share is not negotiable it may not be transferred. It cannot be gambled with in the market, whereas that of the shareholder in the corporation may be and commonly is.

Collective ownership is not the ultimate, fundamental condition of Socialism. It is proposed only as a means to an end, not as an end in itself. And that end, to the attainment of which collective ownership is a means, is the fundamental condition of Socialism. The central idea of modern Socialism, its spirit, is the doctrine of the division of society into antagonistic classes. The producers of wealth are exploited by a class of capitalists draining from them a "surplus value," and, instinctively, they struggle against the exploitation, to reduce the amount of the surplus value taken by the capitalists to a minimum—ultimately to zero. To do away with that exploitation, to destroy the power of one class to live upon the labors of another class, is the Socialist's aim. Social ownership and control are only proposed as means to the attainment of that end. If other means toward that end, quicker, more efficient or more certain means, can be found, there is nothing in Socialism to prevent their adoption.

It follows, therefore, that to make collective property of things not used to exploit labor does not, *necessarily*, form a part of the Socialist program. It is easy to see that, according to this principle of differentiation, it would be necessary to socialize the railroads, but not at all necessary to socialize a wheelbarrow. It is not difficult to see that a woman might support herself through the possession of a sewing-machine who

would otherwise be obliged to submit to exploitation as a factory worker. To secure her the ownership of the machine would, therefore, be no departure from Socialist principles. On the contrary, in her individual case, the aims of the Socialist would be realized in that she would be placed beyond the power of the exploiter of labor. Similarly, in the case of the farmer with a small farm, and of the craftsman with his own tools, or of groups of workers working cooperatively, there is no exploitation; no surplus value is extracted from their labor by any outside parties. Consequently, being neither exploited nor exploiters, their independent self-employment is quite consistent with Socialism.

As the Socialist movement has outgrown the influence of the early utopians, which touched even Marx and Engels, it has given up the old notions of a regimentation of labor under the direction of the state. It is increasingly evident that the Socialists of today have abandoned the habit of speculating upon the practical application of their principles in future society. They are insisting more and more that Socialism be regarded as a principle—namely, the conscious elimination of the power of an idle class in society to exploit the wealth-producers. Whatever tends toward that end of eliminating the exploiter from society contributes to the fulfilment of the Socialist ideal.

Instead of the old contention that, in order to have Socialism, every petty industry must be destroyed by the power of great industrial corporations, and every small farm swallowed up by great bonanza farms of vast acreage, it is now recognized by most of the leading exponents of Socialism in this country and Europe that the small workshop and the small farm may enter very largely into the economic structure of the Socialist state. The small farm has thus far proved capable of more economical cultivation than farms of immense acreage; and it may be, as some authorities contend, that small workshops will prove quite as economical as, or even more economical than, great industries when the thousand hampering restrictions and discriminations and privileges which favor their greater rivals are removed.

Should this prove to be the case, there would be nothing to prevent a process of decentralization of industry taking place under Socialism, a process of decentralization so far-reaching that private ownership and individual production would be much

more diffused than now. The participation of the state in industry would be confined to the operation of railroads, mines and other great natural monopolies, and to the carrying on of the great fundamental public services which rest upon natural monopolies, leaving to individual enterprise and voluntary co-operation vastly more scope than these enjoy today in production and distribution. Needless to say, this is not a prophecy, but simply a statement of possibilities.

The important point to be remembered is that there is no principle of scientific Socialism which is opposed to the continuance of private property or private industrial enterprise, so that it involves no exploitation of the laborer by the non-laborer. It needs but the statement of this principle to demonstrate its truth. B is a farmer, working upon his own small farm. He exploits no man's labor, but manages to maintain himself and family in comfort. C is a shoemaker, owning his own little shop and his own tools. He, also, exploits no man's labor, but manages to support himself and his family comfortably. What reason could the state have for forbidding these men to employ themselves, denying them the right to exchange their products, shoes, for farm produce, and compelling them to enter industrial or agricultural regiments as employees of the state?

Socialism, it cannot be too strongly emphasized, is not the fulfilment of a great plan of social organization, the principal feature of which is that the state owns and controls everything and aims to administer things with approximate equality of benefits and duties. It is an ideal, objectively considered, of a society in which there is no parasitic class preying upon the wealth-producers. Subjectively considered, it is a struggle on the part of the producers to throw off the exploiters, the parasites, in order that the ideal may be attained.

Of course, under Socialism, as in every civilized society, private property of all kinds would be subject to the ultimate rule of society. The interests of society as a whole, that is to say, would be regarded as superior to those of the individual. Subject to this superior social right, there is no reason why private property should not be far more widespread under Socialism than today. Take, for example, the matter of homes. The great mass of the people do not own their own homes, though there can hardly be any question that the great mass

of the people desire to own homes of their own. It is conceivable that in a Socialist state of society every person who desired it could own a home for himself and family. On the other hand, it is not conceivable that the state would have any interest whatsoever in forbidding the ownership of homes. Since all families must have homes in which to live, whether provided by the state or otherwise, there could be no reason for the state's insisting upon being the universal landlord. Government ownership of dwellings in preference to the ownership of the dwellings of the many by a few extortioners, certainly: but there is no more reason, so far as the central principle of Socialism is concerned, for denying the right of a man to own his home than there is to deny him the right to own his hat.

From the foregoing it will be seen that not only does Socialism not involve the abolition of all private property, but that, on the contrary, a wide extension of private property is quite compatible with Socialism as taught by Marx and his followers. It is not an insignificant thing that the Socialist party of the United States, in its national platform of 1904, charged that "capitalism is the enemy and destroyer of essential private property." The Socialist protest against capitalism is that it destroys the economic independence of the producers. The restoration of that independence is the grand aim of all Socialist endeavor.

Failure to recognize with clearness the principle set forth in the foregoing pages produces inability to distinguish between government ownership and Socialism. Many persons marvel that the Socialists do not hail with gladness, and join forces with, the various movements aiming at public ownership as they arise, and thus achieve Socialism piecemeal. Every proposal to extend the area of government ownership and management is at once hailed as a "step toward Socialism." For example, a strong movement arises for the government ownership of interstate railroads, or of the telegraph system, and people wonder that the Socialists preserve their equanimity, stand aloof, apparently unconcerned, and decline to join the movement. Such persons confound—as many Socialists do—the external forms of the Socialist program, its non-essentials, with its fundamental, essential principle. They do not see that the form of ownership is relatively unimportant according to the Socialist philosophy.

It is quite as possible for a government to exploit the workers in the interests of a privileged class as it is for private individuals, or quasi-private corporations, to do so. Germany with her state-owned railroads, or Austria-Hungary and Russia with their great government monopolies, are not more socialistic, but less so, than the United States where these things are owned by individuals or corporations. The United States is nearer Socialism for the reason that its political institutions have developed farther toward pure democracy than those of the other countries named. True, in Germany, Austria-Hungary, Russia and other countries of the old world, there is a good deal of government ownership, but the governments are class governments and the workers are exploited for the benefit of the ruling classes. Obviously, the workers are no better off as a result of changing the channel of exploitation merely, while the amount of exploitation is left unchanged. The real *motif* of Socialism is not merely to change the form of industrial organization and ownership, but to eliminate exploitation.

To sum up: the whole matter may be very briefly expressed in the form of a declaration of the principles, as follows: Socialism is not hostile to private property, except where such property is used to exploit the labor of others than its owners. The socialization of property in the Socialist state would be confined to (1) such things as in their nature could not be held by private owners without subjecting the community to exploitation or humiliation; (2) such things as the citizens might agree to own in common to attain superior efficiency in their management.

Granted the foregoing conclusions, it is evident that the fear of a huge bureaucratic government as an inevitable condition of Socialism loses its force. Such a bureaucracy might be created, it is true, but it would not result inevitably from the amount of administrative work involved in the management of all property and "all the means of production, distribution and exchange." In fact, there is no good reason for disbelieving the claim made by modern Socialists that the amount of government control over the individual would be far less than we are now accustomed to.

In this connection it must be remembered that the regulation of capitalistic property in modern society, especially in the great social services—such as the railroads, lighting companies

and the like—involves an enormous amount of government which, under such a condition as that suggested as belonging to Socialism, would be wholly superfluous. When one thinks of the tremendous amount of legislative and administrative effort which experience, not theorizing, has shown to be requisite for the restraint of capitalist enterprise, the mind is staggered by the stupendous total. No one knows, for it has never been computed, how much it has cost the United States during the last ten years to "regulate" the railroads in their relations to the public. This much we do know—that it has been found necessary to enact an immense body of legislation for the regulation of capitalistic enterprise. To enact this legislation has cost an enormous sum of money: to enforce it has cost a great deal more in the way of maintaining an army of inspectors, judges and officials of one sort and another.

It has been said in criticism of the methods of conducting our public services that the amount actually spent in doing the work is in many cases only a fraction of the total cost. To illustrate: the actual operation of a street railway, including the men who make the cars and lay the tracks, the men in the powerhouse, motormen and conductors, is said to represent less labor than what may be called the bookkeeping of the railway—the army of "spotters," inspectors, collectors, cashiers, clerks, bookkeepers, accountants and the like. Most of these workers are in reality parasites; their labor is only rendered necessary by the preying of private interests upon the body social.

Similarly, it may be said that much of our government is in a like manner parasitic, rendered necessary only by the preying of private interests upon the body social. The socialization of all the natural monopolies and the restoration of economic independence to the great mass of the people would render obsolete an astonishingly large body of laws, many of them irritating and humiliating to a degree that is oppressive, and would turn a large army of workers from parasitic to genuinely useful occupations.

Every abuse of capitalism calls forth a fresh instalment of legislation restrictive of personal liberty, with an army of prying officials. Legislators keep busy making laws, judges keep busy interpreting and enforcing them, and a swarm of petty officials are kept busy attending to this intricate machine of

popular government. In sober truth, it must be said that capitalism has created and could not exist without the very bureaucracy it charges Socialism with attempting to foist upon the nation.

There is, then, nothing in Socialism itself to warrant the assumption that it would enthrall the individual to the yoke of a bureaucratic government. There is no reason for regarding as impossible and absurd the assumption that, under a Socialist régime, the bounds of personal liberty would be greatly extended and the scope of government greatly narrowed. Whatever views one may entertain concerning Socialism, either as an ideal or as a movement, it is necessary and just to weigh seriously the claim, made in the national platform of the Socialist party for the year 1904, that it is "the only political movement standing for the program and principles by which the liberty of the individual may become a fact." And, further, that "it comes to rescue the people from the fast-increasing and successful assault of capitalism upon the liberty of the individual." That claim cannot be waved aside by mere rhetoric, nor silenced by abuse. The fact remains that Socialism menaces neither private property nor personal liberty. There is nothing inconsistent with Socialism in the idea that government interference with the individual should be as little as possible.

It will be said, doubtless, that the principles and the program here sketched are those of individualism rather than of Socialism as commonly understood. Granted that they satisfy the man who calls himself an individualist, they are not therefore anti-Socialist. Socialism is not the antithesis of individualism—except individualism of the "devil-take-the-hindmost," *laissez faire* school. To that crude form of individualism, so-called, which accepts the doctrine that "might is right," under which the assertion of one man's might destroys the individual liberty of others, Socialists are opposed, just as the enlightened individualist must be opposed. To the individualism that is based upon equality of opportunity, the absence of privilege and the destruction of all artificial inequalities, so that nature's inequalities alone manifest themselves, Socialism is not opposed. Indeed, Socialism comes as the fulfilment of that ideal.

Ninety-nine out of every hundred persons discussing this subject not only regard Socialism as the antithesis of individualism, without any qualification whatsoever, but they make the

far more serious blunder of regarding the present social system—if, indeed, one may use the word “system” to connote our industrial anarchy!—as a system of individualism. Nothing could be more fallacious than this. The individualism of the fathers of the republic, particularly of Jefferson and Samuel Adams, bears no relation to our present system with its ramifications of privilege. Free competition between man and man belongs to the concept of individualism, but not so the competition, so-called, which takes place between the corporation and the individual. To make an artificial person, for legal purposes, of a great corporation such as the Standard Oil Company, and then to regard a struggle between it and an individual refiner or dealer as “free competition,” is to do violence to language and reason.

Illustrative of the confusion of thought upon this subject which pervades all ranks of society, we have the declaration of the Ohio Republican convention, in asserting the claims of Mr. Taft to be the successor of President Roosevelt, that the issue in American politics in the year 1908 is “individualism against Socialism”—the Republican party and Mr. Taft representing individualism! Could anything be more grotesque than the application of the word individualism to the Rooseveltian policies? Could the word be more abused than by its application to the Republican party program? If Socialism represents one side of the issue fought out in our national politics last year, the other side is not individualism, but capitalism with its privileges, its invasions of personal liberty, its artificial inequalities and its economic servitude of class to class.

The Socialist ideal may be vain and chimerical, but no thinking person can deny that the influence of the ideal upon masses of our citizens is a wholesome one. The political Socialist movement may spend itself blazing trails for others to follow, opening a way to a promised land it may not enter; but the world will be the better for its existence. Fanaticism, in the name of Socialism, and under its banners, may seek to do away with private property and personal liberty; but that will be a caricature of the Socialism for which so many millions of earnest men and women in all lands are living lives of consecrated sacrifice.

DEFINITIONS OF CONTEMPORARY SOCIALISM

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An Attempt to Define Socialism. John Martin

Definitions of Socialism are almost as numerous as the combatants for and against Socialism. Unbelievers claim the same right as believers to define the term, as Mark Twain said people should spell according to the dictates of their own conscience. The results are confusion and misunderstanding, muddy thinking and a woeful working at cross purposes in matters of national importance. So bewildering is the babel of voices that some people deny that Socialism can be defined at all.

Preparatory to this symposium I inquired the opinion of some leading economists and publicists upon the meaning of the term and among the replies are the following:

Professor John H. Gray says: "You seem to have tackled a phantom, a will-o'-the-wisp. The term has no fixed or well-defined meaning. In the eyes of the interests Socialism means any proposition to take away any power, legal or illegal, good or bad, that the interests now suppose themselves to possess."

Professor Davis R. Dewey writes: "It has never seemed to me possible to define the word so as to make it serviceable for general discussion. Socialism represents a movement. I do not see that it admits of sharper definition than Christianity, or barbarism, or culture. . . . The discussion has gone too far and the term is too widespread to bring down to any definition."

Professor Simon Patten declares, "I cannot define Socialism. It seems to me to be a composite of several thought movements, each of which has separate causes."

However, I am glad to report that this despair and bafflement are not universal—not even characteristic. The great majority of those I have asked, all of them qualified to speak with authority, not only give a definition, but their definitions come remark-

ably close together. They show little of those wide variations as to the meaning of the term which distinguish the speeches of politicians on the stump and propagandists on the rampage.

The briefest is by Professor T. N. Carver, to whom "Socialism is the public ownership and operation of all the means of production." This is closely allied with the definition given by Mr. William Jennings Bryan in an essay of which his secretary kindly sends me a copy as answer to my inquiry. "Socialism," writes Mr. Bryan, "is the collective ownership, through the State, of all the means of production and distribution." If Mr. Bryan's ownership be taken to include management, as other sentences in his essays indicate it does, and if Professor Carver considers that distribution is, as an economic process, only a stage of production, then Harvard and Nebraska are practically in agreement.

Professor Henry R. Seager elaborates this a little. "Socialism," he says, "is a proposed reorganization of industrial society which would substitute for the private ownership of land and the instruments of production public ownership, and for the private direction and management of industry, direction and management through public officials."

Notice that this definition does not specify that all the means of production be owned by the public. Similarly, Professor Carl E. Perry stipulates, "the common ownership and operation of substantially all productive instruments." The same point is made by a thoughtful advocate of Socialism, Mr. W. J. Ghent, whose definition runs as follows: "Socialism is the collective ownership and democratic management of the social means of production for the common good." "Not *all* the means," he continues, "for it is entirely probable that many of the smaller industries may justly, and with due regard for social efficiency, be left in private hands."

Professor Richard T. Ely, in a definition originally given in his work "Socialism and Social Reform"—a definition which he tells me he would not change today—adds another idea. "Socialism," he says, "is that contemplated system of society which proposes the abolition of private property in the great material instruments of production, and the substitution therefor of collective property; and advocates the collective management of production, together with the distribution of social income by society, and private property in the larger proportion of this social income."

Probably the definitions before quoted may be taken to imply the idea fully expressed in the last clause of Mr. Ely's definition, that Socialism contemplates private property in the larger proportion of social income. Others reach the same goal by considering the proposals of Socialism with regard to the institution of property as fundamental. Professor David Kinley considers that Socialism "in essence calls for a new law of property, to the extent of taking from individuals and giving to society as a group all property rights in land and the instruments of production" and Professor J. W. Crook writes that "the term Socialism might wisely be confined to that plan of social or economic reform which would eliminate profits and interest by doing away with the institution of private property in productive wealth and substituting therefor public ownership of the means of production."

These definitions are more exact than an analogous definition enunciated by President Taft in a speech delivered at the Ohio Northern University, an extract from which his secretary kindly sent me as authoritative. "Speaking generally," said the President, "of the issues which are likely to be presented to you students in the future, I think the issue of most importance will be the question of the preservation of our institution of private property, or its destruction, and the substitution of a certain kind of cooperative enjoyment of everything, which is the ideal of Socialism."

You will notice that the President does not confine the proposed joint enjoyment to the means of production. He appears to hold that Socialism would preclude the private ownership of any part of that Social income which Professor Ely expressly stipulates will "in the larger proportion be held as private property."

It would be too tedious to quote other definitions to similar effect.

From all the definitions submitted there are significant omissions. Not a single person even mentions free love or the disruption of the family as having any relation to socialism. I may say, however, in this connection, that Colonel Roosevelt did not reply to my inquiry.

Further, no mention is made of the doctrine of the class war, nor of the materialistic conception of history, except that Professor Wenley refers to the latter as the basis of the desire "to vest all sources of wealth in the central government."

To sum up, the great majority of my correspondents agree that the definition of Socialism must include the following points:

1. Public ownership of nearly all the means of production.
2. Operation of these means of production by public officials.
3. Distribution of the income according to rules determined by the community.

4. Private ownership of the income so distributed.

It is noteworthy that these points are included in the definition officially adopted by the National Executive Committee of the Socialist party of America, which runs: "Socialism is the modern movement of the working class to abolish the private ownership in the social means of production and distribution, and to substitute for it a system of industry, collectively owned and democratically managed for the benefit of the whole people."

Notice that the Socialist party adds, however, an idea which is not mentioned by any economist I have consulted. The party executive says that Socialism is the modern movement of the working class to secure what I have just defined as Socialism. To them the movement and its working-class character are essential. A party formed to advance any cause is, perhaps, of necessity, as much concerned about tactics, strategy, discipline, and pass-words as about the soundness of its philosophy or the practicality of its aim. The Socialist party of America, the lineage of which is more clearly German than English, attaches importance to the materialistic interpretation of history and to the doctrine of the class war as, jointly, both indicating and justifying the only method by which, they say, Socialism can be installed, namely, by the organization of those persons who do not possess property into a political party which, acting independently of all other parties, will have as its sole aim the establishment of Socialism. Their belief is that persons possessing property will inevitably, with exceptions so few as to be negligible, by their material interests be led to oppose Socialism; while the non-possessors, also with only few and negligible exceptions, must ultimately, when they understand the case, become class-conscious and approve Socialism. This is not the time to discuss the validity of those beliefs, nor the correctness of that simple division of society into two classes.

I must point out, however, that this major doctrine of the Socialist political party in America—a doctrine to which appli-

cants for party membership are usually asked to subscribe—has no place in any of the definitions of Socialism which I have received. If we accept the definition which I have previously analyzed, a person might legitimately be classed as a Socialist and yet not be a member of the Socialist party, exactly as a person may be a Christian without joining a church, or a Democrat or a Republican without enrolling as a member of the Democratic or Republican party.

Though the labels Democratic and Republican have been appropriated by political parties, yet democracy and republicanism remain independent of party platforms, contortions, or evasions, and debatable as methods of political or social organization irrespective of the ballot cast by the disputants at elections. A student contrasting American with English or German government might proclaim himself a Republican though he voted for Mr. Bryan; and, speaking of Russian society, he might proudly assert he was a Democrat, though he voted for Mr. Taft. In neither case would it occur to his party to object. Similarly, it is quite conceivable that "Socialist," as a party badge, may come to have little or no relation to Socialism as a form of social and industrial organization—the strength and weakness, the drawbacks and advantages, of which may be discussed without any reference to the way a man votes.

Theoretically that divorce between party label and abstract doctrine is already clear; but, practically, while a party is young and struggling for power, and while it is filled with a fervor almost religious, it finds it impossible to display that broad toleration which would permit profane lips to employ its sacred phrases, or unsanctified persons to preach its pure doctrine. Socialism possesses a literature, a tradition, a status abroad, and the dignity of being a world movement, the glory of which it is easy to understand that those who bleed and suffer and sacrifice in its name are not willing to forego.

At the end of the eighteenth century the party of Thomas Jefferson called themselves Republicans, because they had been charged by their opponents with desiring to run to the extremes of the democratic or mob rule which had been exemplified in Paris. They therefore rejected the name of Democrats for which the father of their party had ever shown a fondness, and not till about 1805 did they begin to adopt it and to turn an epithet into a badge of honor.

But, nowadays, the Democratic and Republican parties, finding no considerable section of citizens denouncing or deriding abstract democracy or republicanism, and being daily fed with the solid sustenance of office and power, feel no pain in differentiating between themselves and the broad doctrines which carry their label. But the Socialist party is in a less halcyon state. Struggle, defeat, and famine are its accustomed portion; and, therefore, it is comprehensible that it should highly value the intangible glories of tradition and orthodoxy. Therefore, probably for several decades, the political party will claim the right to decree what persons and measures possess the true hall-mark; and calm discussion of Socialism, in whatever way we here agree to define it, will continue to be hampered by its association, in the public mind, with a particular political party.

It remains for us to explore the boundary line between Socialism and its counterpart, individualism, where we may find some unexpected *terra incognita*.

Prof. T. N. Carver, in presenting his definition, says that "The ideal of Socialism is not at all different from the ideal of individualism. Both are aiming at approximating nearer and nearer to equality. Socialists think this can be achieved better through public ownership and operation of the means of production. Individualists think it can be achieved better through the preservation of the institution of private property and private ownership of the means of production, though not to the entire exclusion of public ownership in some things. One is not a Socialist by virtue of his belief in the public ownership of some things. . . . If one believes there are some means of production that are well adapted to public ownership and others that are better adapted to private ownership, he is not a Socialist but an individualist."

More precisely, Mr. William Jennings Bryan says, "Individualism is the private ownership of the means of production and distribution where competition is impossible."

Prof. Frank A. Fetter holds that "the name individualist is to be applied to the person who, at any given stage of social advance doubts the efficacy of relying on the associative motives and emphasizes the importance of giving play to the emulative and competitive motives as a means of securing the activity and energy required for progress in social organization. The name

Socialist is to be applied to the person who, at a given moment, minimizes the importance of individualistic motives, emphasizes the need of limiting and controlling the competitive activities in society, and believes not only in the need, but in the practicability of gaining social progress by developing at that time more associative and altruistic action."

Unless our definition specifies the character of the means of production which individualism would give over to public ownership, the distinction between individualism and Socialism is so blurred as to be hardly distinguishable. If we simply affirm that individualism sanctions public ownership of some means of production and Socialism the private ownership of some means of production, or that the difference between Socialism and individualism is only a matter of emphasis, then the classification of a particular proposal to transfer an industry from private to public ownership is impossible. It may be an instalment of Socialism or a retention of individualism.

For instance, the existing federal ownership and operation of vast irrigation works, involving the expenditure of millions of dollars, the employment of thousands of men and the creation of hundreds of farms—is that Socialism or individualism? Can a measure be a piece both of individualism and Socialism? Is there a wide margin between the two, belonging to neither exclusively, a sort of hinterland over which both may freely wander, neither challenging the other as trespasser?

If individualism permits the public ownership, as Mr. Bryan asserts, only of those means of production in which competition is practically impossible, the classification of measures or proposals is more easy, though Socialism is then stripped of a large territory over which it had flown its flag. Municipal ownership and operation of water, lighting, and transportation plants, and state ownership of railways, telegraphs, and telephones then become embodiments of individualism—though, I imagine, Herbert Spencer and the Manchester school of economists will turn over in their graves at the news.

But, in any case, is a statesman consistent who denounces Socialism over night and recommends Congress next day to establish a line of merchant vessels to be owned by the nation and operated by public officials between the Panama isthmus and San Francisco? Is such a statesman consistent even in condemning Socialism *per se*, while, as secretary of war, he is

administering a fleet of steamers, owned and operated by the nation and running between New York and Panama? Clearly, competition is not practically impossible between steamship lines. If we allow that such a sample of government enterprise is not tainted with Socialist principle, where shall the boundary between Socialism and individualism be staked?

Does individualism consent to the government ownership and cultivation of wide-stretching forests, with nurseries, planters, rangers, and fire wardens, with the leasing of grazing privileges, the sale and removal of ripe timber, and all the other accessories of a great business, conducted—all by public officials—for profit? Has individualism no more objection than Socialism to the continued government ownership of deposits of oil, gas, phosphate rock, and of coal beds of incalculable value, all to be held in trust for the people and worked under leases that control the methods of exploitation, the conditions of the workmen, the royalties to be paid into the public treasury, and, perhaps, the prices to be charged the consumer? Is the whole policy of the conservation of natural resources as presented by its authors an incarnation of individualism, or is it a member of the great Socialist family, simply washed and dressed and adopted into a respectable household?

We have nothing to do here with the political consequences of the correct labeling of political measures. Even if we agree as economists upon definitions which will help to clear our own thought and will aid college students to be intellectually honest, we cannot enact, and we would not if we could, any pure politics law which would compel the correct and honest labeling of party proposals and protect the public from misbranded goods.

Perhaps, as Prof. Henry W. Farnam suggested in his address to the Association for Labor Legislation at the Atlantic City meeting, some new term is needed to designate the policy which is neither individualistic nor Socialistic, the new type which has already developed between the two old well marked species, a hybrid with characteristics derived from both parents, each of which claims it for its own, to both of which it is a beautiful child, and neither of which is willing to forego the claims of parenthood.

If a new term be adopted, New Nationalism, as suggested by Mr. Croly in "The Promise of American Life," Meliorism, In-

surgency, or what not, economists will be justified in asking for an exact definition of its content. If political philosophies and economic doctrines merge into each other like the colors of the rainbow, passing from revolutionary red right through to royal violet without perceptible break, then straight thinking and intellectually honest politics are hardly attainable.

Pending the presentation of such a term, acceptably defined, I see no more hopeful prospect than to disinfect the term Socialism of the virulent germs with which unauthorized persons have impregnated it; and then to give Socialism the same impartial, impersonal investigation to which chemists subject a new food, or a fresh carbon compound which promises an easier life for mankind.

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